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Columbia University Contributions
to Anthropology
Volume XVI

THE PAWNEE GHOST DANCE HAND GAME

BY

ALEXANDER LESSER

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THE PAWNEE GHOST DANCE HAND GAME

A STUDY OF CULTURAL CHANGE

BY
ALEXANDER LESSER

[Title Page]

NEW YORK
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS
1933

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PRINTED IN GERMANY
J. J. AUGUSTIN, GLÜCKSTADT AND HAMBURG.

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TO

FRANZ BOAS

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PREFACE

Acculturation, though a recent term which has yet to establish itself in dictionary usage, is a useful term for the processes by which aspects or elements of two cultures mingle and merge. Within this broad meaning, however, we should distinguish assimilation as of a separate character. Acculturation may be taken to refer to the ways in which some cultural aspect is taken into a culture and adjusted or fitted to it. This implies some relative cultural equality between the giving and receiving cultures. Assimilation, however, is the process of transforming aspects of a conquered or engulfed culture into a status of relative adjustment to the forms of the ruling culture. The problem of acculturation, when we are considering the American Indians in relation to their adjustment to European culture, is a problem of assimilation.

Assimilation and acculturation differ in another important way. In acculturation the cultural groups involved are in an essentially reciprocal relationship. Both give and take. As a result it is a valid problem to consider what is adopted and what not, and the whys and wherefores. In assimilation the tendency is for the ruling cultural group to enforce the adoption of certain externals, in terms of which superficial adjustment seems to be attained. The adopting culture is not in a position to choose. Its forms are often technically so inferior, particularly in material culture, that they tend to be obliterated at once by the technical products of the culture which engulfs them. In addition the ruled are generally ordered to do so and so, and to stop doing so and so. In this situation the only possible reactions are passive acceptance or active resistance and rejection. The study of assimilation of the American Indian must take into consideration the fact that American Indian culture has not met a culture of the same order of complexity or technical advancement, and that in the methods which have been used to assimilate the Indian, neither individually nor collectively as tribal groups were the natives brought into direct contact with our culture as such. They were offered, here and there, certain obvious externals. These externals are relatively superficial in relation to the values and standards of our culture, and could not replace the essential values of American Indian culture which were meanwhile destroyed.

In 1930 and 1931, while engaged in the study of Pawnee and Wichita ethnology in Oklahoma, I found it necessary to control

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the recent changes in religion and ritual. In doing so, the story of the renaissance of culture which took place among the Pawnee under the stimulus of the Ghost Dance was pieced together. In presenting this material I have described the developments against the background of Pawnee history since white contact. This serves to bring to light the motivations and influences which were stimulants of change. And in reference to the new forms which developed I have concentrated on the Ghost Dance hand games, the most important in terms of the emphasis made by the Pawnee themselves. The controlled consideration of the games in their changing forms has made it possible to consider the meaning of processes of change, and the inevitability of founding ethnological methodology on a metaphysic of history.

The field work among the Pawnee, of which this study is a specialized part, was carried out under a project supported by the Columbia Council for Research in the Social Sciences. This manuscript was in part prepared while I was Fellow of the American Council of Learned Societies. In addition to published material, I have had the use of unpublished materials of James R. Murie, in the form of a manuscript by George A. Dorsey and James R. Murie, which was made available to me through the courtesy of Dr. Dorsey and Dr. Berthold Laufer of the Field Museum of Natural History; and I was also able to refer to a Bureau of Ethnology manuscript on the Ceremonies of the Pawnee, by James R. Murie, which was at the time being linguistically revised by Dr. Gene Weltfish. The use of these materials proved invaluable, not only for the work which has resulted in the present study, but also for the consideration of Pawnee religion which I hope to present in another year.

I cannot close these remarks without acknowledging my indebtedness to Professors Franz Boas and Ruth Benedict of Columbia University, who gave me the opportunity to make the field studies on which this work is based. I am also obligated to many Pawnee friends, and particularly to my chief informant, Mark Everts, a rare mind and a hearty friend, and Henry Chapman, whose help was important in this and other work. My wife, Dr. Gene Weltfish, has cooperated with me in countless ways. But most of all, I must express my intellectual obligations to Professors Franz Boas and John Dewey. For many years I have believed their conceptions of method to be basically in harmony, and in my own thought and work I have leaned heavily on their teachings.

October, 1932. Alexander Lesser.

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I

I. THE PAWNEE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY[1]

FIRST PERIOD: TO 1833

The Pawnee enter the perspective of American governmental Indian affairs after the purchase of the Louisiana territory in 1803 by which their traditional territory, ranging from the Missouri indefinitely westward between the Niobrara River and the Arkansas, became a part of the United States. Lewis and Clarke, on their explorations of the newly acquired domain, met the Pawnee on the Platte River in Nebraska in 1804. In 1806, Major Pike visited the villages of the Kitkahaxki[2] band of Pawnee on the Republican fork of the Kansas River. But the first government treaties with the Pawnee were not concluded until 1818. At that time the four bands were politically independent of each other, and lived apart, and four separate treaties, embodying the identical articles, were drawn up at St. Louis. By these treaties the government secured for the American people the peace and friendship of the Pawnee, while the tribes acknowledged the "protection" of the United States. All past acts of hostility were to be mutually forgiven and forgotten, and future violations of the treaty were to be dealt with according to the laws of the United States. These objectives were further defined by the treaty of 1825 at Ft. Atkinson, at which time the government dealt with the Pawnee as one tribal or national unit composed of four federated bands. In this latter treaty the Pawnee acknowledged the supremacy of the United States, and the United States received the Pawnee under their protection. Specifically, the function of this treaty was to establish rules for the trade of the Indians with the whites, and to limit such trade to citizens of the United States. The Pawnee also gave a guaranty in this treaty that they would refrain from selling or trading arms and ammunition to hostile Indian tribes.

[1] The historical account which comprises Chapter I, as well as parts of the second section of Chapter II; and the last section of Chapter III, are founded on:

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The first period of Nineteenth Century Pawnee relations with the white man and the United States government begins with the first contacts following the Louisiana purchase and ends with the treaty of 1833. The population of the tribe during this time is open to dispute, as no accurate figures are available. In 1804, Lewis and Clarke estimated the tribe at 4,000, but they were unacquainted with the Pitahawirat[a]. According to these explorers the tribe had suffered terribly from a smallpox epidemic the previous year which had greatly reduced their numbers. Pike in 1808 gave a count of 6,223 for the same three bands. Major S. H. Long, who visited the tribe on his travels in 1819, estimated their number at 6,500, still without knowing the Pitahawirat[a]. The first government figure appeared in 1834, just after the treaty of 1833 brought an agent, Dougherty, in contact with the tribe. He numbered the Pawnee at 12,500. This figure was carried on the government records for years, occasionally displaced by the estimate of the

113 United States. Indian Affairs Office. Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Washington, 1824 to date. The series has been consulted throughout its entire run. Details of importance on the Pawnee begin with the report of 1837. Referred to in footnotes as Annual Reports.

Kappler, C. J. (Compiler). Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties. 2 volumes. Washington, 1903. 57 Congress, First Session. Document 452.

Royce, C. C. Indian Land Cessions in the United States. 18th Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology.

I have also consulted:

Dunbar, J. The Pawnee Indians. Magazine of American History. 4: 241—281; 5: 321—385; 8: 734—756.

Grinnell, G. B. Pawnee Hero Stories and Folk Tales.

Irving, J. T. Indian Sketches Taken during a U. S. expedition to make treaties with the Pawnee and other tribes of Indians in 1833. 1838, reprinted 1888.

Murray, C. A. Travels in North America, including a summer residence with the Pawnee tribe of Indians in the remote prairies of the Missouri. 2 volumes. 3rd. revised edition, London, 1854.

Oehler, C. F. and Smith, D. Z. Description of a Journey and visit to the Pawnee Indians. April 22-May 18, 1851. Reprinted from Moravian Church Miscellany of 1851—1852.

Tuttle, Sarah. History of the American Mission to the Pawnee Indians. Boston, 1838.

Williamson, J. W. The Battle of Massacre Canyon. The unfortunate ending of the last buffalo hunt of the Pawnees. Republican Leader, Trenton, Nebraska, 1922.

Where differences on dates and other important data have been encountered, the account presented has taken the information in the reports, year by year, as the final arbiter. All basic concrete data and interpretations are essentially restatements of source material; it has seemed unnecessary to introduce minute footnotes. Interpolated interpretations of the writer are few and obvious.

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missionaries, Dunbar and Allis, who were first with the tribe from 1835 to 1837, and considered the government estimate too high, offering 10,000 as approximating the true population more closely. The discrepancies between these various figures are not severe. That of Lewis and Clarke, in spite of the decimation of the Pawnee the previous year, is probably too low, and may not have been intended to include all villages of all four bands. The computations of Pike and Long, based upon three of the four bands, indicates a total of close to 9,000 for the whole tribe. This last figure represents the approximate "normal" figure for the Pawnee tribes during the first period of the Nineteenth Century. There were without doubt major fluctuations in the numbers of the Pawnee during this period, and the trend of the tribal population was to diminish rather than increase. One general consideration, however, can hardly be open to question. At the opening of the Nineteenth century, the Pawnee bands together constituted one of the five or six large Indian tribal groups between the Mississippi River and the Rocky Mountains. They maintained themselves in spite of the hostility of practically every tribe in the region. In their aboriginal state their trade must have been severely limited by tribal feud. It is unlikely that they had economic dealings of any importance with tribes other than the Arikara, Mandan and Wichita. All the major indigenous peoples around them were continually in a state of conflict with them: the many groups of the Dakota Sioux on the north and northwest, the Kiowa, Comanche, Cheyenne and Arapaho to the southwest, the Osage and Kansa to the south and southeast. Immediately to their east were the Omaha, Ponca and Oto, with whom a state of partial amity prevailed, born of the fear they had inspired in these tribes. Later in the century the Pawnee became close friends of the Omaha and Ponca. The Oto, given opportunity as the Pawnee declined, assaulted small parties of Pawnee on occasion, but later became friends of the Pawnee.

In the period which closed with the treaty of 1833 changes were taking place in the basic conditions of life of the Pawnee which were only to appear in their fullest effect in later periods. A tide of white emigration and transcontinental travel began to appear, moving westward, and swelling with the years. These emigrants brought white diseases into the midst of the Indian tribes, trampled their fields, hunted the buffalo for sustenance and pleasure, and keeping the herds of the plains in constant fear, limited the natural range and increase of the buffalo.

The diseases which the Pawnee acquired from white contact included, besides infantile diseases, venereal diseases, small-pox and

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cholera. The small-pox was particularly deadly. It had already afflicted the tribe in 1803, and in 1825 a serious epidemic again broke out, with great mortality. Small-pox in the years 1829 to 1833 was so serious in the Indian population, that the government spent large sums annually for vaccination among the Indians who were already "wards" of the government. This did not include the Pawnee, as yet only "peaceful friends".

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The white emigration was not the only condition which began to effect the gradual extinction of the great buffalo herds of the western plains. Traders came in, ready to barter white goods for hides and skins, and the normal Indian use of the buffalo herds was increased. Finally the Indian population of the plains was suddenly enlarged by the United States policy of removing Indian tribes from east of the Mississippi to the west, and settling them among the indigenous tribes. This policy of removal was designed to eliminate the friction between the tribes in the east and the white settlers of their localities, as well as to avoid abuse of Indian rights by State governments. In addition, of course, their lands were wanted east of the Mississippi by white people. These removals were not an inconsiderable shift of population. By 1836, 51,327 Indians of eastern tribes had already emigrated, and 30,950 were waiting to remove, a total of over 81,000. Government calculations of the same period placed the indigenous population of the region from the Mississippi to the Rocky Mountains at 231,806, so that the actual increase by removals was an addition of 35 per cent to the population of the plains. The Plains tribes lived primarily by hunting the buffalo, while on the eastern fringe of the Plains the village tribes, of which the Pawnee were one, combined hunting in the summer and winter, with the cultivation of corn, beans and squash. This increase of the Indian population effected the food supply in two ways: greater demands were made upon the animal resources of the region, and the free range of the vast herds of buffalo began to be more and more restricted. This closing in of the populations around the buffalo range, by Indian removals, white settlement and white emigration, prevented the natural maintenance of the herds, and as the herds became increasingly smaller, the pressure of the surrounding populations increased as hunters came further and further into the buffalo range to find herds. All of these factors, the demands of a larger Indian population, the requirements of trade, the use of the buffalo by the emigrants, and the interference with the wide range of the herds, were cumulative, interdependent and interactive, and beginning in this period, continued until in the latter part of the century the buffalo was practically extinct.

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The increase of population and the decrease of the herds led to greater conflict between the native tribes west of the Mississippi for control of the hunting range. Tribes traditionally hostile to one another met oftener on the more restricted hunting grounds, had more frequently to penetrate each other's terrain after the vanishing herds, and became increasingly resentful of intrusions and trespass. Tribal warfare became bloodier with the years. The Pawnee, always at odds with their neighbors, found themselves in this period increasingly attacked. They had dominated one of the richest parts of the buffalo range; now they resented and resisted the incursions of their ancient enemies. There is little doubt that the Pawnee suffered a heavy mortality in these years through death in battle, although we have few records of their encounters. But in 1832 they suffered a major defeat at the hands of the Comanche on the Arkansas River, involving sufficient slaughter to have been retold and reported. It is a fair estimate that the death rate in Plains warfare in the years from 1820 to 1850 was from four to five times the rate of mortality in the 18th Century.

In the process of removing the Indian tribes of the east across the Mississippi, the government was not overcareful to consider the territorial rights of the indigenous peoples of the Plains. After tribes had been removed and settled in western locations, their eastern lands ceded to the United States and already overrun by settlers, it was discovered that the removed tribe was being rapidly exterminated by its neighbors, the indigenous tribes of the region. Such was the case with the Delaware who were located west of the Missouri, between the Kansas River and the Platte, only to find themselves involved in continuous and bloody warfare with their neighbors, particularly the Pawnee, then dominant in the region. It was to remedy this condition that the Commissioner of Indian Affairs went to the Pawnee in 1833, and there at the Teawi village on the south side of the Platte River, drew up the treaty of 1833.

The short-sighted policies of the United States government in its dealings with the Indians is aptly illustrated by this whole affair. To get the eastern Indians out of the way of American citizens, they were removed westward, persuaded that the government could assure them agreeable living conditions in the western territorial regions as yet under the direct control of the federal government. In the west, however, in most cases the government had merely treaties of peace and friendship with the indigenous tribes, and had acquired no right to settle other Indian groups on tribal lands. When the emigrant tribes were settled in the west, conflicts inevitably followed. The Pawnee, finding their lands en-

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*175 *648 croached upon and their hunting territories trespassed upon by new invaders from east of the Mississippi, actively defended their rights. When large numbers were killed in these conflicts between the emigrant Indians and the indigenous peoples, and between indigenous peoples who found their hunting grounds crowded and narrow, the government was compelled to interfere to stop the slaughter, ostensibly in order to protect their wards, the "removed" Indians, but actually in order to safeguard the whole policy of removal, since with the unsettled conditions and continous conflict west of the Mississippi it was impossible to carry forward the emigration of the eastern Indians still in the way of the white man. The only course to follow was to secure large cessions of land from the indigenous tribes, on which the government could then locate the emigrant tribes.

SECOND PERIOD: 1833 TO 1857

The second period of Pawnee history in the 19th century begins with the treaty of 1833, and closes with the treaty of 1857. By the treaty of 1833, the Pawnee ceded land in return for compensation, but were left an independent people; with the treaty of 1857 they relinquished all their lands to the United States, abrogated their freedom, and became wards of the government. The period of twenty-four years from 1833 to 1857 falls naturally into two parts: the Pawnee removal to the north side of the Platte, and their attempt there to develop agricultural settlements, which terminated in 1846 with their retreat to the south side of the Platte River; and the residence of the Pawnee on the south side of the Platte, in violation of their treaty agreement, which continued until execution of the provisions of the treaty of 1857.

The treaty of 1833 was the second step in governmental procedure with the Indian tribes. From treaties of peace and friendship and amicable trade, the government had advanced to one of acquisition. By it the tribe was restricted within narrower boundaries in return for a consideration. The Pawnee ceded and relinquished all right to their lands south of the Platte River, a provision which they were to rue for years to come. In return for this cession they were to receive an annuity of $4,600 for a period of twelve years, to be given regularly stated amounts of agricultural implements, and to be supplied with blacksmiths, demonstration farmers, mills and a school.

Instruction in farming was intended to civilize the Indian and so to open the continent to white settlement. The nomadic hunting

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life of Plains tribes was considered wild and barbaric by a people whose culture for centuries had been grounded on an agricultural economy. To tame and civilize the savage it was necessary to make them an agricultural people; and this was the more essential in that an agricultural economy would locate the tribes permanently in restricted areas and release wide reaches of land for the uses of the white man.

The Pawnee do not seem to have been in agreement about the removal. While the provisions of the treaty made the lands south of the Platte River ceded by the Pawnee a common hunting ground, still open to them, it confined their villages and farm lands to the north side of the river. Prior to this time the three bands of Teawi, Kitkahaxki[1] and Pitahawirat[a] had maintained their permanent village settlements south of the Platte, while only the Skiri band resided on the north. The Kitkahaxki[1] and Pitahawirat[a] accepted the terms of the treaty and removed, as well as some of the Teawi, but most of the Teawi refused to leave their homes on the south side of the river. This main Teawi village was below the Platte some miles west of the Bellevue settlement on the Missouri River. It was to this group that the other bands removed in 1846.

The exact year of final removal is not certain. In 1839 the bands asked aid in locating their permanent settlements on the north side, inasmuch as the land was to be cultivated according to white methods of farming, and must be suitable for such purposes. By 1841 all the Pawnee who accepted the treaty provision had removed. One large village was built together by the Pitahawirat[a], Kitkahaxki[1], and those Teawi who removed. The Skiri are not mentioned as building a new village from which we may infer that they probably continued at their old location.

In the midst of the difficulties attending the removal, the Pawnee were afflicted again by the smallpox. An epidemic broke out in 1838 and did not subside until a year and a half later. It is said to have been communicated to the Pawnee by some Dakota women captured by them in the spring of 1838. Great numbers of children perished in the epidemic, while the mortality rate among the adults was perceptibly lower. Nevertheless the total deaths must have considerably exceeded five hundred in the period of the

[1] Dunbar, in Magazine of American History, 4: 257, places the Kitkahaxki[1] 18 miles northwest of the mouth of the Loup River on the north side of the Loup, and the Pitahawirat[a] 11 miles above the mouth on the same side, as early as 1834. I have not found evidence to validate the location of these bands north of the Platte at this early date.

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epidemic, in view of the census figure reached by Dunbar and Allis in the summer of 1840 of 6,787, exclusive of some detachments of the tribe then absent, who could at most bring the total to 7,500.

With the organization of the Department of Indian Affairs by act of Congress in 1834, an agency was established for dealings with the Oto and Missouri, Ponca, Omaha, and Pawnee tribes, located for many years at Council Bluffs. An agent does not seem to have taken active charge of the affairs of these tribes until 1836.

Missionaries had worked among the Pawnee for about two years just prior to the removal of the South Bands. Dunbar was among the Tcawi, Allis with the Skiri, and Satterlee with the Kitkahaxki[x]. Satterlee was murdered in 1837 by a white trader, but Dunbar and Allis helped the bands locate their settlements, and accompanied them in the removal. At the time of the removal a location was chosen on Plum Creek for the site of the government establishment and a mission; but on account of the disturbances caused by Sioux raids, execution of the plan was delayed until 1844.

[57] With the removal north of the Platte, resident farmers settled with the Pawnee, and Samuel Allis was appointed government teacher and opened a school. Nevertheless, the period from 1841 to 1847 was one of breakdown and chaos in Pawnee life, rather than progress.

Once on the north side of the Platte, the Pawnee were exposed more than ever before to remorseless attacks of the Dakota who had been increasing in numbers and boldness for some time. This constant threat hung over every month of the year.

The intention of the government in sending farmers among the Pawnee was to teach them plough agriculture. Their old methods of digging-stick cultivation while they had yielded relatively large crops had never been sufficiently productive to permit the Pawnee to rely completely on their fields. In the summer, observers reported, they succeeded in raising but little more corn, beans and squash than they consumed by the time the cold weather set in. Occasionally their crops were more plentiful but any drought threatened to leave them without a subsistence minimum.

The farmers were indefatigable in breaking up virgin soil for cultivation. The school teacher, finding it impossible to carry out any genuine instruction the first years, joined in, and helped with the agriculture. All reports indicate that the Pawnee themselves showed commendable zeal in their efforts to learn and gave promise of becoming successful farmers more rapidly than other tribes. Nevertheless the farming operations; in the long run, were a failure. The Pawnee did not take to productive farming. The

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reason is not far to seek. Successful farming required the working of isolated plots, and meant the scattering of the people over the land. This was to court death at the hands of the Sioux raiding and attacking parties. To keep the people together in the village, united against an assault, was their only safety.

"From the exposed position of the Pawnee they are compelled to guard their women while engaged in cultivating their corn, digging roots and collecting wood, yet with all their vigilance there is scarcely a month that passes (unless in the extremity of winter) that some of their people do not fall to the tomahawk of their enemies."[1] On June 27, 1843, the Sioux attacked the South Band village killing sixty-seven Pawnee, wounding twenty-six, many of whom later died. They burned twenty of the forty-one lodges in the village. They captured nearly four hundred horses. From March to August of the same year sixty-nine Pawnee while away from the village met their death at the hands of war parties, making a death total of one hundred thirty-six in one short season. From the standpoint of the government's policy the worst phase of the Sioux attack of June was that it fell primarily upon that part of the Pawnee, who, loyal to the plans and purposes of the United States government, were assembled around the agency location learning to become tillers of the soil.

This disaster stayed the rest of the Pawnee who had held back from farming, but were on the verge of taking it up. The government officials wrote that all hope of civilizing the Pawnee through farming must be given up unless the people received protection from the Sioux. Reports had come that the Sioux vowed a war of extermination against their traditional foe, the Pawnee. The Pawnee asked arms and ammunition to protect themselves, and remuneration for their losses. According to their treaty arrangements, they were to have had twenty-five guns with suitable ammunition in their villages, in the hands of the government farmers, to be used in self-defense, but these had never been turned over to the farmers. By treaty they were not to retaliate upon their enemies. Without suffering through retaliation, the Sioux became bolder with each year. The agent wrote in September of 1843, that the Pawnee had decided to persevere at their new locations in spite of their misfortunes.

In the following year there were further Sioux attacks, and the Superintendent at St. Louis commented that the Pawnee lost a great number, and had at hand but one gun and an old pistol for

[1] Supt. Harvey, writing from St. Louis, Sept. 10, 1845. Annual Report of 1844—45.

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defense. As a result of such raids, when the Pawnee left for the summer or winter buffalo hunts, every man, woman and child would go along for safety. The fields and farms were left deserted and the crops untended. It was on such an occasion in the summer of 1846 while the tribe was away hunting that the Sioux came down upon the village. The white people hid the Pawnee school children in cellars while the Sioux were destroying the village, then evacuated the place with the children and crossed the Platte to Bellevue. When the Pawnee returned from the hunt to their village they found it burned to the ground, and they too crossed the Platte to the south side and joined their kinsmen there who had never accepted removal across the Platte.

During this same period, prior to the retreat across the Platte, it was not alone in their villages that the Pawnee were annoyed by Sioux raids. On the hunt they found their hunting territories more crowded than ever before, the buffalo herds scarcer and smaller, and the Sioux war parties larger and bolder. Often their hunt became a battle and they returned to their villages almost empty-handed. It was during this time that the slaughter to which the buffalo herds were subjected by the tide of emigration and travel across the plains was beginning to have a telling effect.

By 1847, with the Pawnee again settled on the south side of the Platte River, it was apparent that all the government objectives had failed. The farming demonstrations were a failure, the school had accomplished little more than to assist in farm work, missionaries could do little, and the tribe was again placed squarely in the way of the white movement of western emigration.[1]

[1] The viewpoint taken herein by the writer is that the Pawnee were entitled to the protection of the United States government against the Sioux, and that by failing to provide such protection the government failed to carry out its treaty obligations. This is not only the viewpoint of the Pawnee, but also the conception of the matter revealed in the reports of all the agents and superintendents who were in charge of the Pawnee during this period; and there can be no question that it was an indispensable measure if the government was to succeed in its policy of education and civilization.

John Dunbar, writing in the Magazine of American History, for April, 1880 (volume 4, p. 255), states: "The treaty of 1833 contains no direct provision that the United States should protect the Pawnees from the Dakotas on the north, and the Comanches and other tribes on the south. But unfortunately the Pawnees distinctly understood that this was the case, i. e., that so long as they did not molest other tribes, such tribes should not be allowed to trouble them. Accordingly for several years they scrupulously refrained from any aggressive hostilities, though meantime suffering severely from their various enemies. It was only after a final declaration from the Government in 1848 that it had no intention to protect them that they at last attempted to reassert their prestige..."

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The Pawnee school was continued at Bellevue. Some reading was taught the children, and the girls learned to sew. The schooling was out of touch with the needs of Pawnee life, and under the hazardous physical and economic conditions very little could be hoped for from its instruction to a handful of children. The pupils for some time were dependent on the generosity of the teacher for sustenance, since after the retreat to the south of the Platte government farming operations were suspended.

Let us consider what basis the Pawnee had for an expectation of protection, and why the officials of the Indian service agreed with them.

The treaty of 1825 reads in part (italics mine):

"For the purpose of perpetuating the friendship which has heretofore existed, as also to remove all future cause of discussion or dissension, as it respects trade and friendship...

"Article I. It is admitted by the Pawnee tribe of Indians, that they reside within the territorial limits of the United States, acknowledge their supremacy, and *claim their protection.*

"Article II. The United States agree to receive the Pawnee tribe of Indians into their friendship, and *under their protection,* and to extend to them, from time to time, such benefits and acts of kindness as may be convenient, and seem just and proper to the President of the United States."

In the treaty of 1833 we find (italics mine):

"Article IX. The Pawnee nation renew their assurance of friendship for the white men, their fidelity to the United States, and their desire for peace with all neighboring tribes of red men. The Pawnee nation therefore agree not to molest or injure the person or property of any white citizen of the United States, wherever found, *nor to make war upon any tribe with whom said Pawnee nation now are, or may be, at peace; but should any difficulty arise between said nation and any other tribe, they agree to refer the matter in dispute to such arbiter as the President shall appoint to settle the same.*

"Article XII. In case the Pawnee nation will remain at home during the year, and give the protection specified, the United States agree to place twenty-five guns, with suitable ammunition, in the hands of the farmers of each village, to be used in case of an attack from hostile bands."

These provisions seem adequate guarantee of some kind of protection against their enemies. It is true that the provision of article IX above refers to those tribes with whom the Pawnee are at peace. From the Pawnee standpoint they are at peace when no aggressive attacks and counter attacks are going on, and it would be a shoddy avoidance of the issue if the government contended that since the Dakota and Comanche were traditional enemies the provision did not apply. It should be again noted that the guns referred to in article XII were never furnished the Pawnee villages. Here again there is a legal loophole, since the provisions of the article imply that the government is not bound by it unless the Pawnee give up their buffalo hunting. But they would certainly have been a sorry spectacle without buffalo during this period, when at least three-fourths of their food supply came from the hunt, as well as their major requirements in robes and tent-covers, and while the government agricultural scheme failed and the government supplied practically no food.

It has also been suggested, relative to the Sioux conflicts of this period,

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*175 *648 The position of the Pawnee on the south of the Platte was directly on the transcontinental route to Oregon. During the period from 1841—1847, the Pawnee group who remained in their old haunts had become a considerable annoyance to white travel. With the whole tribe after 1847 in the way of emigrant movements the situation forced itself upon the attention of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, who took cognizance of the necessity of establishing military garrisons in the region to prevent the Sioux from terrorizing the northern plains. The intention was to recolonize the Pawnee north of the Platte after affording them such protection. Other tribes were to be removed southward, and with the Pawnees

that the account herein overemphasizes the destructiveness of the warfare, inasmuch as the type pattern of culture in the Plains, which the Pawnee shared, made warfare the great game of life for men. This criticism requires comment from several points of view.

In the first place, Plains warfare as carried on by the Sioux in the latter half of the Nineteenth Century was not the typical pattern of Plains warfare. Typically, a warparty consisted of a handful of youths to raid primarily to secure horses, and to achieve renown. Killing and securing scalps was often subordinated to touching the enemy in the midst of the enemy village and escaping unharmed, or to stealing ponies out of the enemy village unharmed and even undetected. The Sioux developed war expeditions on a much larger scale, and intended virtual extermination of the Pawnee, something quite different from the "war game" of the Plains.

In the second place, recent archaeological evidence, as uncovered by W. D. Strong[1], has demonstrated that the Pawnee, and probably the other "village" tribes of the Plains, had been horticultural people in the region for centuries before the incursion of the Plains hunting peoples, and the typical development of Plains warfare and buffalo hunting. From this standpoint the combination of hunting and horticulture by the village tribes must be considered an adjustment of horticultural peoples to the changing conditions of life around them (Strong); and it may be doubted if the adjustment brought economic security. With the decline of horticulture among the Pawnee as the demands of warfare and hunting increased, we find in the nineteenth century that even a successful crop was not on a large enough scale to secure a supply of corn, beans and squash ample to supply the tribe during a subsequent period of failure on the hunt or on the land. It may also be doubted whether the Plains war-psychology was ever the core of Pawnee culture, as it was of the typical Plains tribes.

In the third place, the account of these years is not based on a reading-in of Sioux destructiveness. It reproduces merely the comment, made year after year, in the government reports, of a succession of agents, superintendents, teachers, farmers and missionaries, — men who were eyewitnesses of the assaults and their effects upon Pawnee life and assimilation. Whatever judgment be passed upon the Pawnee for not maintaining themselves as a warlike people, the fact that the Sioux raids were the chief cause of Pawnee failure during this period cannot be doubted on the basis of the historical records which are available.

[1] Strong, Plains Culture in the Light of Archaeology.

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north, and the Sioux restrained from coming south of the Platte, it was hoped that a wide and safe passage could be opened for the Oregon emigrants. [175* 648*]

In how far even the theory of civilizing the Indians through agriculture dominated government policy may be judged from the statements of the Commissioner in his annual report for 1848. The Superintendent of the Central Superintendency, located at St. Louis, had recommended the necessity of providing the Indian tribes of the prairie with suitable land for agricultural purposes, where these tribes had none of their own. This was Superintendent T. H. Harvey, who, judging from his reports, was sincere in his efforts to carry out the professed governmental Indian policy. He contended that the buffalo were approaching extinction, and that plans should be made in advance of that event for settling the tribes as farmers on lands suitable for farming. This policy according to the Commissioner, was contrary to his own recommendations "of procuring and keeping open these lands [viz. good agricultural lands] for the egress and expansion of our own population." He was of the opinion that the Indian tribes would gradually move westward after the disappearing buffalo, and so keep out of the white man's way.

The annuities of the treaty of 1833 had run out their term by 1845; and the aid to Pawnee agriculture by supplying implements, farmers and mills was subject to the Pawnee locating north of the Platte. As a result, in the period from 1847 to 1857 the tribe was practically without government aid. In 1848 at Fort Childs, the United States government purchased Grand Island from the Pawnee for $ 2000 in merchandise, which was of incidental aid to a tribe numbering over 4,000. The acquisition of Grand Island was part of the program for the establishment of military posts on the route to Oregon.

While the school was maintained at Bellevue as a nucleus for future operations, all other civilizing activities in the tribe were practically suspended. Even the missionaries gave up, because of the hazard. South of the Platte the Pawnee claimed the land was unproductive with their methods of planting corn, and there was no available timber for building lodges. The three bands who had been north of the Platte professed in the fall of 1848 their willingness to return there, if the Teawi who had been living alone south of the Platte were made to accompany them so as to increase their military strength for defense against Sioux assaults. [657] [747]

The government purchased some corn for the Pawnee in the summer of 1848, but that fall they were in a miserable condition, their crops having failed because of drought. [657] [731]

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their crops having failed because of drought. Apparently the tribe was not successful in their winter hunt, since we find that in June of 1849, agent John Barrow found two hundred aged and infirm Pawnee, left behind when the tribe went on the summer hunt, starving around the agency. Cholera had broken out among them and before it subsided, eighty-four were dead. When the bands returned from the hunt, he found that the rest of the tribe had also been decimated by cholera while away, a condition brought on by their lack of proper nourishment. His estimate, after talking the matter over with the chiefs of the tribe, was that no less than 259 men and 900 women and children had fallen victims of cholera while the tribe had been away; making a total of 1234 deaths that summer from the epidemic. Barrow seems to have been astoundingly callous. He reports the Pawnee deaths and their condition quite objectively, and treats as incidental that in the midst of their other misfortunes, the Oto, spurred by white traders who gave them guns, had attacked the Pawnee and killed eleven. The Oto shrewdly claimed that their Great White Father had told them to protect and assist the whites, and Barrow reports that he assured the Oto that if their story was true — to the effect that the white traders had been robbed by the Pawnee — their Great Father would forgive them.

In spite of this disastrous season which wiped out a fourth of the tribe, the Pawnee had made a successful hunt, but without a harvest upon their return to the village, they would soon again be destitute.

The Pawnee school was disbanded in 1851 when the treaty arrangements for a term of schooling ran out. Samuel Allis, making his final report, admits his failure, but remarks, "I still consider the Pawnee an interesting tribe, capable of great improvement could they be protected from their enemies and brought under proper subjection themselves."

Pawnee conditions of life gradually became worse. The tide of emigration increased, and between 1847 and 1850, was literally "pouring through and into the very midst of their corn fields, their villages and their hunting grounds," referring to the tribes of the Council Bluff Agency, the Oto, the Omaha and the Pawnee. The Pawnee along with these other tribes were forced into a position where they became more and more anxious to make some further trade of land with the white man in return for a guaranteed sustenance. This was reported to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs year after year. The advisability of carrying out the third step in the government program for dealing with Indian tribes, the pur-

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chase of their lands, and the settlement of the tribe on a limited reservation, was clear. This was the surest method of avoiding the increasing conflict between the starving Indians and the white settlers and emigrants. Driven by necessity, the proud American Indian had become a petty thief and beggar along the highways. Nevertheless governmental inactivity seems to have prevented action until 1853, when the Commissioner of Indian Affairs visited many of the western tribes and executed treaties with them. The Pawnee, however, were avoided at this time although their needs, as reported to the authorities, were as great as those of other tribes. In fact, it appears that to an observer on the spot, James Gatewood, agent at the Council Bluffs Agency, writing October 16, 1853, "these Indians (the Pawnee) have suffered perhaps more than any single tribe by emigration. All of the roads on the north side of Nebraska River pass through their country, and on the south side of that river pass through their hunting ground; and more of their wood and grass are consumed and more game run off, than there is from the bands of any other nation, and yet they receive no compensation; whilst others that suffer much less in that way are liberally compensated. . . ."

In the same year the Pawnee were reported destitute. Their numbers had been reduced to fifty per cent of their former strength in four years. Responsible for this great mortality were the relentless assaults of the Dakota and Cheyenne; and disease, a major smallpox epidemic in 1852 again decimating the tribe. In 1854 the Commissioner of Indian Affairs recommended the tribes of Nebraska to the attention of the government. He considered it "very important that arrangements be made as soon as practicable with the Pawnee and Ponca Indians . . . by which their limits may be restricted and defined, and their assaults upon emigrants . . . terminated." He further pointed out that "the roads on the principal routes to the Pacific Coast have become very important thoroughfares. Thousands of emigrants and many merchants who with their property to the amount of several millions in value pass annually over the plains are entitled to the protection of the government."

While the government was still inactive the Pawnee suffered further heavy losses. One of the major disasters occurred when in 1854 a party of 113 Pawnee were cut off and surrounded by an overwhelming force of Cheyenne and Kiowa and killed almost to a man.

In 1856 the Pawnee were thoroughly depressed. They were not able to cultivate successfully where they were south of the Platte.

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*175 white settlers being all about them. The whites were encroaching
*648 on their lands north of the Platte. The buffalo was scarce. Disease
735 had reduced them to a handful. Their pleas to the government to make some arrangement for their future were unanswered. At intervals they did not have the representation of an agent. Samuel Allis wrote on behalf of the Pawnee to the Superintedent at St. Louis. The document credits him with being "interpreter", but there was no official status to such a position among the Pawnee at that time. The truth is there was neither agent, nor missionary, nor teacher, nor farmer, among the Pawnee officially, and that Allis, faithful to the people among whom he had worked, took the matter into his own hands. He wrote that the whites were settling close around the Pawnee and using up their timber, and that the Pawnee deeply resented the government purchase from the Omaha of lands along the Platte River from Shell Creek to Beaver Creek, which had from ancient times been Pawnee territory. He advised that they be met in council the next spring.

THIRD PERIOD: 1857 TO 1876

*175 The treaty which was drawn up with the Pawnee on September 24
*648 of the following year at Table Creek in Nebraska Territory, ushered in the third period of Pawnee history in the 19th Century, which closes with the removal of the tribe from Nebraska to Oklahoma [166] in 1874 to 1876. During this period the Pawnee were again settled north of the Platte River, this time on a reservation, as wards of the government.

*175 This treaty was the third step in governmental Indian procedure.
*648 The conditions initiated by the original treaties of "peace and friendship", and the first cessions of land, had now brought results
657 favorable to the needs of the white men. The treaty of 1857 ended the independence of the Pawnee forever. They yielded their roving freedom, ceded their lands, and acknowledged in the treaty their "dependence" on the United States. These things they did willingly enough: they had been petitioning the government for years to effect such an arrangement. But it was a willingness born of desperation, born of the necessity of extricating themselves from a network of conditions which made existence well nigh impossible. By the treaty of 1857 the Pawnee admitted their cultural and economic defeat, and resigned themselves to the inevitable guardianship of the government. The provisions of the treaty were many and detailed; its major objective is rendered, however, in the first two articles. Article one provides that the Pawnee cede

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all their lands to the United States government, retaining a reservation thirty miles by fifteen at the Loup Fork of the Platte River, or at any other location in their traditional range more suitable as a permanent home, and remove to it within a year. Article two provides that the United States government pay the Pawnee for their lands $ 40,000 yearly for five years, and $ 30,000 yearly in perpetuity thereafter, subject to commutation by the President. Other articles provide for two manual labor schools to be provided by the government, blacksmith shops, farming implements, grain and lumber mills, and laborers. The Pawnee agreed to send their children between the ages of seven and eighteen to school nine months of the year.

In this treaty the Pawnee inserted some provisions of their own. By article nine, they saw to it that half-breeds were provided for, whether they wished to live with the tribe, or with the white men. By article ten, they asked that the United States government share with them in the payment of $ 2,000 to Samuel Allis, as a recompense for his good services to the tribe. In their last smallpox epidemic he had vaccinated 2,000 and saved their lives; and when they were starving they appropriated his property and used it as their own. By article eleven, the Pawnee asked that a chief and four braves who had guided an American army expedition against the Cheyenne and nearly lost their lives returning alone to the tribe be compensated by the United States government with $ 100 each, or a horse worth $ 100.

According to the terms of the treaty the Pawnee were to make a final selection of their reservation and remove to it within one year of the date of ratification by the United States Senate, until which time the tribe was to remain unmolested in the villages south of the Platte. Ratification took place March 31, 1858. By the fall of that year the Pawnee "were almost entirely surrounded by settlers, a majority of whom, as the more worthy settlers have testified, are less civilized than the Indians."[1] By 1859 the Pawnee had accepted the reservation for which they had originally asked, the territory embracing both banks of the Loup fork of the Platte River, and had removed to it. It was a fertile land, which it was expected would by proper cultivation make them in a few years independent of buffalo hunting. On their reserve the Pawnee were free from the increasing pressure of the white occupation, their eastern boundary being the only point accessible to white settlements.

[1] Agent W. W. Dennison, writing September 22, 1858, from the Council Bluff Agency. Annual Reports, 1857—1858.

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The whole tribe removed, abandoning their old settlements, ready to attempt to build a new home above the Platte, but not without misgiving. The Dakota tribes now outnumbered them eight or nine to one. The "Indians appeared to consent reluctantly to a settlement upon their reservation, returning with gloomy foreboding to the country where in days past they had lost in battle many of their sages and warriors. They appeared satisfied, however, after an assurance from their agent that they should receive the protection guaranteed in the late treaty."[1]

In the period from the Pawnee settlement on reservation sites in 1859 to 1873, when the question of removing the tribe to the Indian Territory of Oklahoma became immediate, the major effort of the government was directed toward accustoming the tribe to a farming life. The policy initiated by the reservation system was to eventuate in locating individual families on individual farms, to be allotted in severalty. Since this was not practicable until the Pawnee men had learned the white man's methods of cultivation, no immediate attempt was made to survey allotments. Instead, the government initiated farming among the Pawnee by locating a government or agency farm close to the school and agency buildings. This was worked and managed principally by government farmers sent for that purpose, who made periodic reports to the agents and superintendent. On this farm the Pawnee men and boys who were willing to learn were persuaded to labor, and it was expected that they would then be anxious to locate farms of their own and work them.

During the whole period the Pawnee also continued to cultivate and plant corn, beans and squash, after their traditional methods. This agricultural work was done by the women. In the old way of life, the men did the hunting and fighting, the women the planting, the skinwork and the housework. Since working the land was women's work, it was not to be expected that the Pawnee men would take to farming eagerly. Those young men and boys who did were taunted continually by others.

The activities of the government farm on the Pawnee reservation were initiated as soon as possible after the removal. In 1860 a grist and saw mill to be run by steam was erected, and a corn granary nearly completed, to be used for storing the produce of the farm. The work was continually interrupted by attacks of the Dakota. A farmer was on hand and raised one hundred and sixty acres of corn, oats and wheat. The same year, the Pawnee women

[1] Superintendent of the Central Superintendency, writing in 1859. Annual report, 1858—1859.

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cultivated eight hundred acres of corn, beans and squash in their old manner. The farmer duplicated his effort in 1861, but not until the summer of 1862 did he give any actual instruction to the Pawnee in farming. That year the agency farm crops and the Pawnee native crops both suffered from a grasshopper pestilence. It was planned that summer to proceed as rapidly as possible to break up enough land for cultivation, so that the head of each Pawnee family could take over a plot and learn by actively operating it.

In 1863 the government farmers had ploughed up for this purpose 725 acres. Meanwhile the native women had a bountiful crop, for the first time in years a surplus. In 1864 and 1865 the government demonstration proved a failure; drought and severe grasshopper pestilences destroyed the greater part of the crop. But the Pawnee crop of corn, beans and squash was much less affected in these years. In 1867 the government farm consisted of 114 acres in corn, wheat, oats and potatoes, while the Pawnee had 1000 acres under cultivation, mostly in corn, with patches of beans and squash. That year saw a bountiful crop all round, with so large a surplus for the Pawnee that they gave food to the Ponca, whose crop had failed, sold a considerable amount, and still retained a store. The following year misfortune visited the whole land in the form of a grasshopper plague of such severity as had never been known. "They came in a cloud so thick as to obscure the sun." They left not a green thing.

In spite of the fact that the government farming demonstration was not strikingly successful during these years, the Pawnee were becoming increasingly conscious of the gradual disappearance of the buffalo, and the need for basing their economic life on a sure agricultural supply. They observed the value and usefulness of wagons, plows, mowing machinery and the like, and in 1868 began to request that large sums of their annuity payment be spent for the purchase of such things. Part of the annuity was being paid to them in merchandise. Inasmuch as no attempt was made to send the people what they specifically needed, a great part of the goods annuity was waste; the Pawnee would sell off most of it to traders for things they needed more, losing considerably in the exchange. The agents pointed out that along with their purchase of agricultural implements, wagons and harness, the Pawnee from 1865 on were asking for cooking stoves and household articles, and began to take an interest in houses.

Building on the reservation had not been active. In addition to the farm buildings erected in 1860, a number of buildings were taken over which had been erected by the Mormons during their

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*175 *648 657 342 two year stay in the region on their movement westward. A brick school building planned in 1860 was finally in service in 1862. By 1867 the agency structures included eight frame houses and three log houses. But throughout this period and until the removal to Oklahoma practically no Pawnee family lived in a house. All still used the traditional earth lodge and the tipi. The only exceptions seem to have been the children who lived at the school and the Pawnee who were employed at or around the agency and lived in agency buildings.

*175 177 *648 Considerable blundering handicapped the use of the mills on the reservation. Hardly a year had passed after the installation of a steam grist and saw mill in 1862 before it was noticed that wood, the only fuel available, was scarce, and that most of the timber of the region was being eaten up by the mill. Recommendations that it be changed to one run by water power, which was available three-fourths of a mile from the agency, were made over a period of years. Finally in 1869 and 1870 a mill dam and raceway were installed at Pawnee expense, the tribe appropriating $7000 of their annuity funds for the purpose and themselves doing the labor. Unfortunately the spring and summer floods of the region had not been considered. The Beaver River overflowed so frequently in the next two years, ruining the dam and raceway, that by 1873 the decision had been reached to abandon the attempt to use water power, and substitute wind power.

*175 177 *648 657 Civilization of the tribe by means of education in farm life was accompanied during these years by demonstration in certain useful manual arts and by an attempt at schooling. Blacksmith and tinsmith shops were set up on the reservation and equipped by the government. The government furnished the blacksmiths, but in order to teach the Pawnee, the strikers were Pawnee youths, employed at fair pay. From this period on, the interest of government policy became increasingly centered on teaching trades to the Indian, and a constant attempt was made to employ Pawnee apprentices in all the government or agency managed activities. The blacksmith and tinsmith shops were flooded with work by the Pawnee, more than they could handle.

The first school on the Pawnee reservation was established and began functioning July 16, 1862. The teacher with the agent's help succeeded in persuading parents of sixteen children, eight boys and eight girls, to send them to school. They were supplied with suitable clothes. The boys were taught some farming and mechanical pursuits, the girls instructed in varied household duties. Both were instructed in reading. The first reports indicated that the Pawnee

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children were quick and eager to learn, and the results promising. By the next year, the chief handicap to the education of the girls began to come to attention. In the old traditional way of life girls were married off by their parents when about fourteen or fifteen. Family considerations were usually paramount and neither the girl nor the boy was officially consulted. Now the teacher found that girls of fourteen were being taken away from the school to be married. The agent was in no position to enforce the compulsory education which was stipulated in the treaty of 1857, since the government had as yet provided meager and inadequate facilities for schooling, with a handful of children at school out of a population including many hundreds of school age.

The boys meanwhile were getting ahead. For the first time, in 1863, the school teacher was able to clip off their scalp locks without their attempting to conceal the change under hats. The boys were learning manual arts, were enjoying the work and activity and were unashamed to be seen at labor by older and conservative tribesmen.

The third year of the school, 1864, was an unfortunate one. Epidemics of measles and diptheria broke out in the school, and carried off a number of children. The children seem to have offered little resistance to these diseases and those who recovered were low in vitality for some time, and subject to other ailments. The school teacher found himself handicapped by the fact that parents began taking away from school the children who had been there since its inception. While he was able to secure others to take their places, the impetus of the instruction was lost, and work would have to start over again from the beginning. Health conditions were better in 1865, when new buildings were put to use, and the crowding avoided. The school attendance was only twenty-two, but agent and teacher subscribed to a program of raising it to at least a hundred, a number for which facilities were now adequate. In 1865 the staff consisted of six. The political changes of agency control were however interfering with the work of instruction, and the teacher advised the government to take the school out of politics by having the instruction turned over to a missionary board. Two school buildings were in use after 1867, with attendance increased to sixty-eight and two teachers of the Episcopal denomination in charge.

With these government activities leading the Pawnee away from their old customs, why is it that by 1872 the whole program had essentially failed? No allotments had been made. The tribe still clung to its village life. The people lived in earth-lodges,

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*175 177 *648 several families to a lodge. Their basic agriculture was still the native cultivation of corn, beans and squash, though here and there a man could be seen using his own plow. They were still dependent upon the buffalo to a great extent.

It is easy to put this Pawnee conservatism down to "cultural lag", and to speak of the slow transformation that takes place in cultural impact. It is tempting to claim that what we have here is a conflict between two basically divergent systems of economy. But these concepts introduce no intelligible determinants; they merely replace the descriptive facts with verbal phrases. What evidence we have indicates that the Pawnee attitude at this period was favorable to the principal part of the government program. The Pawnee chiefs and leaders are reported eager to have the tribe settle down to a farming life, and many of the chiefs led the way, themselves working lands with the plow. The rank and file were convinced that white methods of cultivation gave a larger yield. All knew that buffalo hunts were more difficult and hazardous each year, and are said to have been aware that the buffalo were rapidly becoming extinct. Adults and children alike are reported alert and intelligent, quick to learn, anxious to master mechanical arts and the agricultural technique. Of a conflict between economic ideologies of individual enterprise and communal effort there is no sign. There is no indication that the government was concerned with how individual Pawnee cooperated with one another in farming or how they distributed the produce. Individual skill and enterprise were not unfamiliar to Pawnee men. Warfare and the hunt emphasized these very traits, and renown in Pawnee life was individual renown.

To understand such problems of cultural assimilation and adjustment as concerns us in this period of Pawnee life we must consider the actual conditions and determinants as we find them. Were the conditions of life on the Pawnee reservation favorable to their transformation into peaceful farmers? The answer to this question is no. Quite apart from any natural disinclination of the people to break up village life, or of the men to take up a kind of activity which in earlier generations was women's work, throughout this period remorseless and continous attacks by Sioux made the defense of their lives the first consideration of the Pawnee.

*175 *648 The Pawnee were hardly established in their new reservation homes before they again felt the Sioux cloud hanging over their lives. In 1860 Dakota war parties, accompanied by Cheyenne and Arapaho, attacked the Pawnee on the Pawnee reservation, on April 10, May 19 and May 21, June 22, July 5 and July 11, Sep-

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tember 1 and September 14. "In these several attacks they killed thirteen Pawnee, wounded many others, carried off over thirty horses, and burned over sixty lodges, all on the reservation where the faith of the government is pledged by treaty for their protection. These lodges, if built by white people, would be attended with great expense."[1] The attacks of September occurred while United States troops were on the reservation. All the activities of the year were continually interrupted by this stream of assaults. Military authorities recommended that a block house be built, which they claimed with one large gun and a handful of men could permanently put a stop to these raids.

In 1862 the Dakota attacked the villages early in June and on August 27; in each attack sixteen Pawnee were killed or wounded. In May 1863 the Brulé Dakota attacked, and returned in larger numbers on June 22 of the same year. On the latter occasion several Pawnee women working in the fields within a few yards of the agent's residence were killed and scalped. A company of Nebraska cavalry drove the Sioux off.

By the fall of 1863 the Pawnee were living in a continual state of alarm. Sioux scouts were seen lurking on the reservation, and at times when the Pawnee did not see them, reports reached them that they were close at hand. The Pawnee could not be induced to go into their fields to work, because of the danger. When the tribe left for the buffalo hunt, not one could be induced to remain behind to attend to the farm.[2]

The Pawnee were not alone in suffering heavily from the Dakota war parties. To the north their kinsmen the Arikara, along with the Mandan and Hidatsa of the Fort Berthold Agency, were at this very time holding council, sending messages to the government asking protection and redress. They had lost heavily in numbers, had lost thousands of horses, and repeatedly their corn fields had been burnt. Failing to get government aid, the Arikara wrote to the Pawnee asking the whole tribe to move north and join them; and the Mandan asked the Winnebago to move to the North Dakota country. The Indian councils had decided that their only resource lay in numbers, and with the Pawnee and Arikara, along with the Mandan, Hidatsa and Winnebago on one reservation, they felt competent to cope with the numbers of the Sioux. The Pawnee however declined to join them. In 1832 the Arikara had lived with

[1] J. L. Gillis, from Pawnee Agency, October, 1860. Annual Report, 1859—60.

[2] B. F. Lushbaugh, agent, Pawnee agency, Sept. 21, 1863. Annual Report, 1862—63.

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the Pawnee for a brief period and disagreements had resulted; and from a Pawnee standpoint the Ft. Berthold country was if anything more exposed to Sioux assault than the Pawnee reservation in Nebraska.

The Pawnee summer and winter buffalo hunts were hampered and obstructed during this time by the Dakota. The summer of 1859, at the time of their removal to the Nebraska reservation, they were driven from their hunting fields by superior numbers of Brulé and Oglalla Dakota, and left in want of adequate meat provisions. Nevertheless, during the following years, with the farming and agricultural activities of the Pawnee and the government farmers on the reservation yielding less than a maintenance, the buffalo hunt was of necessity the great reliance of the Pawnee for adequate sustenance. The Pawnee persevered, going regularly on fall and winter hunts. The herds were smaller and further away, and the journey to the distant hunting grounds hazardous. When they overtook the herds, as in the summer of 1864, they were likely to be driven from the hunting grounds by superior forces of the Dakota.

Some protection was afforded the Pawnee on several occasions from 1865 on. Accompanied on their summer hunt in 1865 by a squad of soldiers, they were unusually successful. The tribe killed and secured the hides and meat of 1600 buffalo, antelope, elk and deer, on a hunt of fifty days duration which brought them back to their reservation villages the ninth of August. Throughout the year a company of cavalry was stationed at the Pawnee agency, and there were no Sioux attacks in 1865. Crops were plentiful, and a feeling of security spread. The winter hunt of 1865 was a success, and again in the summer of 1866 the Pawnee were successful on a buffalo hunt from July 6 to August 25.

The Pawnee Scouts were organized in 1864 under Major Frank North for a year of service, but their term had expired and they were mustered out of service (later to be reorganized) after the campaigns of 1865. This, with the removal of troops from the Pawnee Agency, left the tribe without guns or protection, and in early May a raid was made upon the agency in which eighteen horses were stolen. Up to this time, it was often impossible for the government officials to determine accurately what hostile bands were responsible for the attacks. On this occasion one horse which was too weak to run rapidly was shot with an arrow which proved to be Dakota.

Raids interrupted cultivation in 1866 and 1867, and on the hunts in the winter of 1866 and the summer of 1867 the Pawnee were

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annoyed by the Dakota. On July 19, 1867 the Pawnee left for the hunting grounds in company with the Omaha and Ponca. They intended to remain out hunting until near the end of September. The Dakota were in the hunting territory in large numbers, but did not offer to meet the Pawnee in open battle. They kept under cover until the Pawnee had made a surround, and as soon as the men were scattered out over the hunting field chasing the buffalo, the Sioux appeared, fell upon small parties of Pawnee hunters in different quarters of the field, and attacked the Pawnee camp. The Pawnee returned to the camp to defend their families, and after hours of fighting drove back the Dakota. In this way the day was spent in fighting, and the meat of the slain buffalo spoiled before it could be secured. Repeatedly this performance was carried out by the Dakota, and although the Pawnee and their allies found large herds, they secured little meat. Six Pawnee and two Ponca were slain in these encounters, and the tribes finally became discouraged at the continuous annoyance of these attacks, abandoned the hunt, and returned to their reservations with what they had.

The Union Pacific Railroad crossed the state of Nebraska at this time, and by railroad and highway the tide of emigration to the west was bringing settlers to all the watercourses in the buffalo country, cutting off the buffalo herds from their natural watering-places and limiting their range. The Pawnee observed these conditions when they went hunting, and were aware of the pending inevitable abandonment of the chase.

The Pawnee Scouts were reorganized under Major North in 1867, and cooperated with the United States Army forces in policing the line of the Union Pacific Railroad and in campaigning against hostile Indian tribes. Pawnee readily chose such service because the tribe considered itself an ally of the United States. But there were also strong cultural and economic incentives. The youths exchanged a life of relative inactivity on the reservation, with an insecure food supply, for the active life of a frontier soldier, which more nearly resembled the warrior life of old, and which offered regular rations and good pay. While the campaigns against the Dakota and other hostile Indian tribes were in progress, the Pawnee in the summer of 1869 were persuaded by military authorities to forego their usual hunt. The officials feared that the armies who ranged the buffalo country in pursuit of hostile Indians might mistake the Pawnee for the enemy.

In spite of the army campaigns the Pawnee suffered in 1870 from raids by small Dakota war parties, which stole a number of

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*175 *648 horses, and killed six Pawnee. An attempt was begun in this year to bring about a treaty of peace between the Pawnee and the Dakota tribes. Red Cloud and Spotted Tail, however, chiefs of bands of Teton Dakota, contended that they could not enforce peace unless all the Dakota bands came to agreement. By the following year it was clear that the overtures made to these chiefs were a failure. There were so many large bands of nomadic Sioux that concerted action was difficult to obtain. Five Pawnee were killed on the Pawnee reservation in 1871 by war parties from Spotted Tail's band.

*175 *648 177 By this time the practicability of cultivating individual farms, according to report, had impressed itself upon the leaders of the Pawnee people, but they expressed themselves as unable to consent to disruption of village life while the threat of death at the hands of marauding war parties continued. Agents, superintendents and investigating officials concurred in believing that the Pawnee could readily be transformed into peaceful farmers if security was assured them. In 1872 a new instrument for the defense of the Pawnee was utilized, the telegraph service. The agents of the Dakota bands cooperated with other officials of the government service in sending warnings whenever they had reason to believe that war parties had left to plunder neighboring tribes. As a result no successful raid was made upon the Pawnee reservation in 1872. Two war parties of Dakota started for the reservation; the first found the season too early for pasturing their ponies and gave up the expedition, while the second was overhauled by United States cavalry and turned from its purpose of attacking the Pawnee only to fall upon the Ponca on their reservation, run off stock, and kill a Ponca medicine man. The Pawnee agency had been informed of each of these raids in advance by telegraph and the entire Pawnee tribe had been on guard and in readiness. This was a method useful in saving the Pawnee from sudden and unexpected death while on their reservation, but during the suspense, while they awaited an expected attack, their energies were paralyzed, and they could not make an effort to carry on their labors. And the telegraph service was not available to them when on the hunt, as they were soon to find out.

*175 *648 The success of the various government agencies in preventing Dakota attacks in 1872 was but a lull in the storm. Accompanied by officials on their summer hunt in 1872, the Pawnee were successful. While on the hunt they ranged for weeks with the Brulé Sioux camped often as close as eight or ten miles away, and although each tribe was aware of the other's presence, neither molested the

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other. By the winter of 1872 it was felt on the Pawnee reservation and in the surrounding country that the worst was over.

"A feeling of perfect security pervades the whole community for many miles around, and the citizens who were clamorous for the removal of the Indians from the State are now satisfied that they shall remain..."[1]

This feeling of security was shaken by a Sioux attack upon the Pawnee winter hunt of 1872—73, in which on January 10, 1873 one Pawnee was killed and 100 horses captured. All thought of security was shattered in the summer of 1873 by what took place in Massacre Canyon, Hitchcock County, Nebraska, which took its name from the event.

A Pawnee hunting party left the reservation on the second of July, 1873, with full permission from government officials for the hunt, and accompanied by a white man. Its numbers have been variously placed at 700 including 350 men; 400, including 250 men; and 300. Significant about these figures is the fact that the "security" of the previous year had so lulled the Pawnee that on this occasion we find only a small part of the tribe organized for the hunt. If danger were expected, it is likely that, as in days past, the whole tribe would have organized, in order to present a united front to their common enemy. Most of the men were armed merely with bows and arrows, but here and there warriors carried muzzle-loading rifles or carbines. The intention of the party was to hunt in the valley of the Republican River. They were unusually successful and had found several herds and made killings, when they started back toward the reservation with their hundreds of pack horses loaded with meat. On August 4 rumors reached them through white men that Dakota scouts were spying upon them, and that large war parties were not far off. It is said that the Pawnee chiefs put little credence in these reports, claiming that they were intended only to scare the Pawnee out of the country so that the white man could have the hunting grounds to himself. On the morning of August 5 a buffalo scout sighted a large herd, and the Pawnee hunters rode for the herd, and were scattered out making their kills when word spread that the Sioux were coming. The numbers of the attacking party have been placed at 600 warriors and at 1200 to 1500 warriors, but the latter is undoubtedly too large a figure. They were Oglalla and Brulé Dakotas, said to have been under Chief Snow Flake. The surprise of the Pawnee was so complete that Sky-Chief, in charge of the Pawnee hunting party,

[1] Agent J. M. Troth, from the Pawnee Agency, September, 1872. Annual Report, 1871—72.

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*175 *648 was killed while in the act of skinning a buffalo. The Pawnee rallied and made a brief stand, but finding themselves outnumbered three or four to one, attempted a retreat through a narrow canyon, their women and children fleeing before them. It was apparently while the press of the retreat was forcing its way through this canyon to the river that the worst episodes of the massacre took place. The Dakota warriors rode past the retreat on both sides firing at the Pawnee.

The Pawnee escaped complete annihilation when their retreat reached the river and there came upon United States cavalry. The tribal party refused, however, to return after the wounded and the buffalo meat. Overcome with grief the Pawnee camped that night to mourn the dead, and returned in scattered groups to the reservation, broken, depressed and empty-handed.

The mortality in the massacre was great. The figures available are open to dispute. The official agency report placed the dead at 69, with a dozen wounded; Dunbar records the total as 86; while Williamson, the white man in charge of the hunting party, claims a total of 156 casualties[1].

The government took cognizance of the severity of the conflict between the Dakota and the Pawnee following the massacre of 1873. Negotiations were begun with the Dakota looking toward the abrogation of their right to hunt south of the Niobrara River. When by their treaty of 1867 the Dakota relinquished all claim to lands south of the Niobrara, they retained the right to hunt in that territory. In 1874, the bands of the Red Cloud Agency were offered $ 25,000 to forego that hunting right forever. This would obviate conflict with hunting parties of the Pawnee and other tribes then located in Nebraska, and also confine them in the north out of the way of white emigrants and settlers. An agreement was drawn with these Dakota bands June 23, 1875, by which they relinquished their hunting rights south of the Niobrara River. By this time the Pawnee had taken matters into their own hands.

From the Pawnee standpoint the massacre of 1873 ended all indecision and hesitation. It brought forcibly to the native mind the necessity of taking measures of their own to preserve their very lives.

*175 *648 167 In the fall of 1873, within weeks of the return of the remnants of the hunting party which had escaped death in the massacre, a group of Pawnee families evacuated their homes and travelled

[1] J. W. Williamson. The Battle of Massacre Canyon. This account was written from memory years after the event, and is doubtless colored by romantic exaggerations.

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southward to Indian Territory. They had a long-standing invitation from their kinsmen the Wichita, which they now took advantage of. Thirty lodges of families, numbering about 360 individuals went; most of these were members of the Kitkahaxki[x] band. They were received heartily by the Wichita, and settled themselves among the Wichita on the Wichita reservation. Through the leader of this party an invitation was extended to the rest of the Pawnee still in Nebraska to remove to Indian Territory and settle with the Wichita. Reports sent back were glowing with the promise of the land in the south, and the Pawnee in Nebraska, accustomed to struggling against drought and the grasshopper pestilence to secure a crop, believed that the country in the south offered not only a haven from extermination at the hands of the Sioux, but a life of plenty.

This migration of part of the Pawnee was not only conceived by the people themselves, but was undertaken and carried out in spite of the remonstrances and objections of their agent and other officials. Once they were settled with the Wichita, however, there was nothing for the government officials to do but to accept the situation. Since they could not compel them to return to Nebraska, they were "allowed to remain". They drew rations at the Wichita agency along with the tribes located there, and joined the Wichita in farming.

In Nebraska the government gave the Pawnee partial indemnification for the losses sustained in the massacre by expending $ 9,000 for cattle and supplies, with which aid the bands in the north were made comfortable during the winter of 1873. The desire to move to Indian Territory was not as yet general that winter: the promise of the south had not yet reached them. The tribe in council, assuming that they were to continue to struggle in Nebraska, asked that $ 10,000 of their annuity be spent the next year for agricultural implements and labor. In the spring of 1874, the agency officials made a herculean effort on their behalf. The government farmers broke 350 acres for the Pawnee to farm, while the Pawnee cultivated 1,000 acres on their own behalf; in addition the agency farm of 315 acres was planted, and the school farm of 25 acres, a total of 1,690 acres in cultivation. The Pawnee were said that year to show a greater willingness to labor than ever before. Unfortunately, the prospects of a fine crop were destroyed by drought, Colorado beetles and grasshoppers, and the harvest yielded only 1,400 bushels of wheat, less than half a crop, and a few beets and potatoes. By fall the destitution of the people was great, and the officials reported to the government that aid must be given them.

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*175 +648 167 It was this complete failure of their best efforts in Nebraska, while they were receiving word from their kinsmen of the plenty of the Indian Territory, that spread the desire to remove southward among them like a fever. The Pawnee made it plain to the officials in charge that they could live in Nebraska no longer, and that they would remove with or without permission immediately. They refused to consider waiting until the government could carry out official arrangements. The tribe asked that their lands in Nebraska be sold for the best price they would bring, and the funds used to locate them on suitable lands in the Indian Territory. The white settlers around them, realizing the rich harvest in land for settlement that the removal of the Pawnee promised, spurred them on, and argued to the agent that they failed to see why, in view of the desire of the Pawnee to remove, the government did not let them go.

The Pawnee were excited, and emergency measures were taken. October 10, 1874, Barclay White, the Superintendent of the Northern Superintendency in which the Pawnee Agency was then located, William Burgess, the Pawnee agent, and other officials held a council with the Pawnee to discuss their wish to remove. The Department of Indian Affairs had drawn up a plan, practically equivalent to a new treaty, which the Pawnee in council considered for two days, accepted and signed. The tribe was not altogether satisfied with the provisions, but it was more important to them to manage the removal expeditiously.

In accordance with the government plan, the vanguard of the Pawnee tribe, consisting of the abler men and leaders, left Nebraska shortly thereafter, proceeding to the Wichita agency in Indian Territory, where they arrived in December. The main contingent of the tribe migrated a month later accompanied by agency employees. The agent, Burgess, had left Nebraska with his son in November, and examined different portions of the Indian Territory available for reservation settlements. The rest of the tribe, to the number of some four hundred, consisting of the aged and infirm, and small children, were left at the old reservation in Nebraska, and were only to be removed after the tribe had chosen its new reservation in the Indian Territory, removed to it, and made some beginning in the erection of their new homes.

Burgess reached the Wichita reservation early in January of 1875, before the main body of the tribe had arrived. He waited until the two parties, the pioneer group and the general tribal contingent, were reunited at the Wichita Agency. With a delegation of forty he left for the northern part of the territory to allow the Pawnee to inspect for themselves the land to be turned over to

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them as a reservation. The tract chosen was south of the Otoe Agency and north of the Sauk and Fox reservation in the forks of the Cimarron and Arkansas Rivers. The Pawnee agreed upon the location, finding the land apparently a fertile and hospitable home. In late June of the same year the main body of the Pawnee removed from the Wichita reservation to this new location, leaving a body of 374 Pawnee with the Wichita to harvest the Pawnee crop from the fields planted by the Pawnee that spring on Wichita land.

In Nebraska during 1875 the Pawnee remnant who were left behind consisted of that part of the tribe who were least able to defend themselves against attack. A company of infantry from Omaha were stationed at the old Pawnee Agency at Genoa in Nebraska during the spring and summer to protect them. With the summer well advanced, and no untoward events having occurred or being anticipated, they were withdrawn. On August 23 the wife of Eagle Chief was shot and killed while she was drying corn in the early morning. Marauding white men or Indians were suspected. Again on the morning of August 30, a raid was made at sunrise by party of fourteen Indians on fleet horses. Unable to capture a small herd of horses, they shot the Pawnee boy who was herding them. The Pawnee men available made an unsuccessful pursuit, and from that day until the removal of this last remnant of the Pawnee guarded the village by day and night. These were parting blows of the Pawnee enemy. This last contingent of the Pawnee were removed with all their movable effects by wagons and teams in November of 1875. After the harvest on the Wichita reservation that year, the Pawnee who had remained behind a few months also moved to the new reservation in northern Indian Territory, and by the spring of 1876 the entire tribe, which then numbered 2,026, were collected together and settled on the new reservation south of the Arkansas River.

The most striking characteristic of this entire period from the treaty of 1857 to the removal, completed in 1875, aside from the failure of the government program for transforming the tribe into individual families of farmers, is the steady and rapid decrease in Pawnee numbers. There is reason to believe that the Pawnee population for the four bands was close to 4,000 when they removed to their reservation north of the Platte River in 1859. The census of 1861 listed them at 3,414, from which total their numbers fell steadily to 2,026 in 1876, when they were together again in Oklahoma. The official report for the year 1875 to 1876 recorded 95 births and 150 deaths. This is some indication of the steady decrease. This decrease is to be accounted for by two continuous factors,

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the mortality inflicted upon the Pawnee by the Dakota and other hostile tribes, and the continuous inroads which diseases, particularly pulmonary diseases, were making upon the tribe. The mortality in warfare is only partly represented by the recorded incidents mentioned herein; the worst phase of the continuous marauding strife was the annihilation here and there from time to time of small parties of Pawnee cut off away from the reservation, or on the hunt, for whom no accounting has been made. In the removal itself there is reason to believe that many perished; all the separate contingents of the tribe were removed in the late fall and winter months over open country in wagons and on horseback. Not the least of the Pawnee difficulties was the sudden change of climatic conditions from Nebraska to Oklahoma, which was to have its effect upon the health of the tribe for some years.

The removal of the Pawnee to Oklahoma was carried out by the tribe and the Department of Indian Affairs before legal arrangements could be made. Expenses incurred were met as best they could be by executive order and appropriation. A bill had been introduced in Congress in 1875, but in the press of the closing days of the session no action on it was taken. It was not until the spring of 1876, when the tribe was together in Oklahoma, that Congressional action for the sale of the Pawnee reservation in Nebraska and for the appropriation of an advance against the proceeds of that sale was obtained. These provisions were included with the stipulations for the purchase and authorization of the new reservation in Indian Territory, in the Act of the Forty-Fourth Congress, First Session, April 10, 1876, "an act to authorize the sale of the Pawnee Reservation."

With the decline of Pawnee numbers in Nebraska before the removal and the increasing pressure of white settlers demanding land, the Department of Indian Affairs had concluded an agreement with the Pawnee in 1872 by which the tribe accepted the Congressional authorization of the sale of 50,000 acres of surplus land of their reservation, taken from that part lying south of the Loup Fork. This act was repealed by that of 1876, which provided for the sale of the entire reservation. After due advertisement the land was to be sold in separate tracts of 160 acres for not less than $ 2.50 an acre. Meanwhile the government appropriated $ 300,000 for use by the Pawnee, to be reimbursed to the United States Treasury from the sale of the Nebraska Reservation. Half of this sum was to be used to settle claims for expenditures involved in the removal and maintenance of the Pawnee up to the date of the act, the other half for necessary expenditures on behalf of the tribe until they

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could become self-sustaining in Indian Territory. The reports of agents and superintendents during the period of the removal were to the effect that the entire movement had been carried out under the supervision of agency employees on their regular government salaries, and without major expenses of any kind, which makes this handsome provision by Congress seem rather startling.

The income from the sale of the Nebraska lands was also to be used in part for the purchase of the lands forming the Pawnee Reservation in Indian Territory. The new reservation consisted of 283,020 acres of land, of which about four-fifths was Cherokee land, in accordance with the Cherokee Treaty of 1866, and the other fifth Creek land ceded to the United States by the Creek treaty of June 14, 1866. The Cherokee were to be paid not more than seventy-five cents an acre by the Pawnee; while the United States agreed to accept thirty cents an acre for the land formerly held by the Creek.

The Pawnee lands in Nebraska with improvements thereon were appraised by special government officials in 1877 at $ 761,800.21. Their sale took place in the years following, although some plots for which payment was not made as required had to be resold as late as 1890. The balance in favor of the Pawnee from the sale, after the government had been reimbursed for its advance and the cost of the new reservation had been deducted, was placed to the credit of the Pawnee tribe in the books of the United States Treasury. On this, their first trust fund, the Pawnee were to receive interest at five per cent, payable per capita, semi-annually.

FOURTH PERIOD: 1876 TO 1892

The fourth period of Pawnee history in the Nineteenth Century begins with their settlement on the reservation in Indian Territory, and closes with the break-up of their reservation and allotment of lands in severalty to them in 1892, the year in which the Pawnee took up the Ghost Dance.

The government program during this period of Pawnee life was a continuation and gradual expansion of the plans and policies attempted in Nebraska. To civilize the tribe and adjust them to citizenship they were to be made farmers, cultivating individual tracts of land which they fenced and on which they lived in frame houses. They were to be stimulated to labor in the white man's way, in lumbering, carpentry, freight-hauling, and other pursuits. They were to be made self-sustaining by means of cattle-herding and the cultivation

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of fruit trees, in addition to farming. Education in the rudiments of common schooling, along with training in manual arts, was combined later with an effort to stimulate self government. Finally a persistent campaign was instituted against forms of the old Pawnee life which were considered barbaric and detrimental to their new life as citizens; their unsanitary mode of life, the methods of the medicine men, their polygamous marriage customs, their wasteful mourning customs, their Indian clothing, their religious dances and ceremonies, their indolent social gatherings for dancing and gambling, their intemperate feasting.

The major objective of the government, however, was directed toward the division of the tribal lands into tracts held in severalty, which would introduce individual property ownership and inheritance, and break down the communal forms of life around which centered, from the white man's standpoint, the barbaric tribal customs which barred the Indian from an imperceptible and gradual absorption into the white population of the United States.

The government program could not be initiated upon the arrival of the Pawnee. They came in several contingents during winter months to a territory uninhabited and still virgin to the plow. The first Pawnee to arrive, including by arrangement the strongest men and women, taking new heart with the possibilities of peaceful and secure life in their new home, began at once to build their settlement close to the agency location on Black Bear Creek. Accustomed still to the tipi and the earth-lodge, the former for temporary shelter on the march and the hunt, the latter for more permanent habitations, they built villages in their old way. The first winters were difficult, the Pawnee suffering severely from exposure, after their long migration, and from the changed climatic conditions. The building of frame houses with government aid and direction was contingent on the settling of individual families on individual tracts of land, a condition which could not be met immediately upon arrival.

It was essential to begin cultivation at once. Large sums had been expended to provision the tribe during the years of removal, and they had to become self-sustaining soon. Government farmers began the agency farm. The bands chose the locations in which they would settle, and as rapidly as possible the government farmers broke land for them to cultivate.

The Pawnee camped around the agency until land was ready for them. Two bands removed to land broken for them in 1877; the other two the following spring. By the summer of 1888 all were cultivating their lands.

As they removed, the bands transferred their village encampments to their separate tracts.

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to their separate tracts. The land broken for each band was but a small part of their sector; it was neither large enough nor so situated as to make practicable a division of it into individual tracts for family groups. Each band therefore began to farm the band tract cooperatively. In theory each man did his share of the work and each took his share of the harvest. The band lived together on the tract, and their encampments rapidly became permanent villages of tipis and earth-lodges.

This redevelopment of village life, instituted by the Pawnee as an adjustment to the conditions of their settlement in Indian Territory, and intentionally overlooked by agency officials, who considered it a temporary expedient, was to continue for some years. To the Pawnee it was a satisfactory adjustment, approximating as it did their accustomed way of life. In these villages something of the old tribal life continued; the chiefs, priests and medicine men functioned, the old social gatherings and ceremonies were possible.

The produce of the band farms, together with that at the agency, constituted the basic food supply of the Pawnee. For years this was inadequate and insecure; the people suffered greatly for lack of food, and some of the mortalities of the period were due to starvation and malnutrition. The principle crop was corn, supplemented by some beans and squash, and increasing cultivation of wheat, oats, potatoes and other vegetables. Most of the farms were in the bottom lands and along the streams, and yet the usual hazards of cultivation caused crop failures a number of times. The country in which the Pawnee had settled is in a belt which is subject to periodic hot, dry summers, when rain is at a premium. Droughts were severe in 1880, 1887, and 1890. On occasion bugs destroyed much of the crop, while once, in 1885, a terrific hailstorm broke the stand of grain. Crop failures left the Pawnee dependent on government aid, in the form of rations, or food purchased for them with money from their annuity funds.

For a meat supply the Pawnee had to depend primarily on government rations. The first winter the Pawnee were together in Oklahoma, that of 1875 to 1876, the tribe attempted a buffalo hunt, but the herds were too remote to be reached with the limited preparations the Pawnee were able to make. While the buffalo were reported on the plains in considerable numbers the next summer, only occasional buffalo were captured by straggling parties of Pawnee. In a few years the tribe was persuaded to forego the hunt; they talked of it the winter of 1878, but did not go. From this time on we hear of no buffalo hunting. The organized tribal hunt was a thing of the past.

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The meat rations supplied the Pawnee by the government were until 1880 delivered on the hoof, and the Indians, gathered round the agency to receive their oxen, would turn the day into one of carnage and slaughter, killing and dressing their own beeves. The "oxy kill 'em day," as this was known to the Indian service, ended in 1880 after which the rations were turned over to the tribe in the form of dressed meat.

Not more than one-third of the Pawnee reservation was suitable for farming, but there was a great deal of good pasture land. Cows and calves were issued to the Pawnee in 1878, and received such good care that with the Indians asking for cattle the government made an attempt to develop stock-raising. In the summer of 1880 four hundred head of two-year-old heifers and bulls were brought from northern Texas and distributed among the Pawnee. The tribe hailed their coming with delight. Unfortunately a scourge carried off many oxen the first winter. The Pawnee were not yet free of their hunting complex. When they wanted meat, they killed cattle, and finding that traders would buy the hides, so many were slaughtered that by 1882 only a few head of the cattle issued to the tribe remained. Stock-raising by the Pawnee was admittedly a failure.

A great need in the food supply was fresh fruit, for want of which various ailments afflicted the Pawnee. To obviate this fruit trees were bought and small orchards planted on the reservation, but they did not flourish.

The food rations, supplies, and implements distributed to the tribe had to be shipped to the reservation by freighting from the nearest railroad point. At first this was at Coffeyville, Kansas, a distance of one hundred miles; the route went northward through the Osage Agency. Later there was a shipping point at Arkansas City, a distance of seventy miles. The agent turned the freighting over to the Pawnee, who handled it with wagons and teams on their own responsibility.

As conditions on the reservation became more settled, the government farm program was renewed. A major provision of the Congressional Act of 1876 which established the Pawnee reservation applied to allotments in severalty. Each head of a family, or single person over 21 years of age, who so desired, was to be allotted 160 acres of land. Certificates were to be issued by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs recognizing the individual ownership of such tracts. An allotee occupying and cultivating his land for five successive years, who had at least twenty-five acres fenced and in crop, was to be entitled to receive a patent in fee simple for his

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allotment, inalienable for fifteen years thereafter. In this way the Indians were to be transformed gradually into individual holders of land.

Enterprising Pawnee, young and progressive, had taken over individual farm lands as soon as these could be surveyed and made available for them. For such families frame houses were erected on their allotments, the agency carpenter managing the work, assisted by the Pawnee. This development was sluggish before 1880, owing partly to indolent management on the part of the agents. Families who chose tracts of land often camped for long periods near them in tipis, before the surveying and alloting could be done, and aid given them in house-building. By 1881 only forty such houses had been built and occupied by Pawnee families; and the allotments seem not to have been officially registered.

The main body of the tribe, however, continued to reside in the band villages. Once established in villages the Pawnee were loath to break up their social life for a life on scattered farms. The agents found stubborn resistance to their program of change. From the official standpoint village life was the center of stability for the old barbaric customs. Polygamous marriage, gambling, inveterate dancing and indolence, superstitious awe of the medicine men, were aspects of Pawnee life which could not be eliminated unless the villages were broken up. The conditions of band farming which were natural to the Pawnee were obnoxious from the white standpoint. In the native view the chief controlled the farm in the interest of the general welfare, and all shared its produce according to need. In the agent's view the chief was an exploiter, and under his rule indolence flourished and individual initiative was submerged. The indolent and lazy, supported by the labor of others, could hang out around the agency waiting for the distribution of rations and goods, and money payments.

While after 1881 the agents were making a concentrated drive to get the Pawnee on individual allotments, there seem to have been two extreme parties in the tribe, a radically progressive group who were in favor of separate farms and homes, and the conservative majority content with band village life. The chiefs, priests and medicine men of the tribe seem to have been in the main opposed to a change to individualized farming. The government agents claimed their obstructionism was born of a desire to maintain their own power and influence, which would fade with the people scattered in isolated homes. But it was more than this. The Pawnee had been accustomed to sedentary village life as far back as tradition could go. Recent archaeological evidence indicates that they had been

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*175 *648 657 621 a basically horticultural people in the plains of North America even before the buffalo hunting era.[1] The whole round of life, with its conceptual and religious meanings, was to the Pawnee bound up with group life in a village. Their ceremonies were village rituals in intent and action; their dances called for gatherings on a large scale. In opposing a destruction of the village communities, the chiefs were supporting traditional Pawnee values. In addition, it must not be forgotten that even after the settlement of the Pawnee on a Nebraska reservation in 1859 the tribe had been permitted to continue the old village organization. To be sure, it was not in line with government policy that they did so, but because, as we have seen, the government failed to give the tribe protection and did not dare to scatter the people and render them defenceless. Nevertheless, the effect was the same. The Pawnee were not opposed to farming. They were proud in 1884 of their independence of government aid, of their ownership of horses, cattle and farming implements. What was good and useful to a productive and happy life was not lost on the Pawnee. But their past experience inclined them to the belief that reservation life, based on farming, could be carried on successfully without the break-up of their villages. In dealing with such village tribes as the pueblo peoples, the United States government did not destroy the village organization and settlements; as a result, much of value and significance in their ancient culture has continued into the present among the Southwestern Indians. The implication here is that the Pawnee chiefs were right; and that in the case of their tribe the government was attempting a more violent and rapid change than was good for their cultural health.

*175 *648 657 In 1880 there were only a few individual farms held by Pawnee. The government reapers and mowers were used on these as well as on the band farms. The band farms were still cooperatively planted and worked. In 1882 the concerted drive of the officials persuaded a number of enterprising families to locate. With a family on an allotted tract, the agent proceeded to build a frame house for them. The Indians hewed logs and brought them to the saw-mill. The government carpenter directed the work of erecting the house, with Pawnee men assisting. The latter did a good share of the work, and as time went by put up their own houses. From 1886 on, all the frame houses built on the Pawnee reservation are reported to have been erected by the Pawnee themselves.

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[313] Until 1884 there was a scarcity of timber and cut wood for building, and many families camped on allotments. Those who

[1] W. D. Strong. Plains Culture in the Light of Archaeology.

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were comfortably settled in homes on individual plots remained on them and worked them faithfully. Living in houses, they were soon asking for tables and chairs and bedsteads. Ponies being their chief form of property, the homesteaders would offer ponies for cooking stoves and culinary implements. Some exchanged ponies for hogs. A great change was coming into Pawnee life.

The chiefs, priests and medicine men stubbornly opposed the change. Their resistance was strengthened by lax and inefficient methods of government officials. Agents were political appointees, subject to the changing winds of political control. In the eight-year period from 1876 to 1884 seven agents were successively in charge of the Pawnee. The indications are that often they were lax and indolent, occasionally viciously dishonest. The great suffering for lack of adequate provisions in the early years was in part a result of such maladministration. In 1883 supervision became worse, when the independent Pawnee agency was merged into a combined agency for the Ponca, Pawnee and Oto (later to include the Tonkawa), which was located at Ponca City, many miles from the Pawnee Reservation. Only one or two days of the week could be spent with the Pawnee. The agency fell into disrepair, and procrastination ruled in the affairs of the Pawnee.

On the positive side there were the younger progressive spirits among the Pawnee themselves, who worked untiringly to persuade the people to adjust themselves to new conditions. They found opposition not only in their own ranks, but among white people in the Territory, who, sympathetic to Indian ideas, urged the Pawnee here and there to resist allotments.

The Skiri were the most progressive of the four bands. By 1887 a great many families were located on farms distributed all over the reservation, and a large proportion of these were Skiri. By 1890 most of the Skiri lived on their own farms, furnished their houses and dressed like white people, and spoke English in ordinary intercourse. The Tcawi ran them a close second. Of the other bands, while most were on allotted tracts, there were still many earth-lodges in evidence, and only those who were being educated in the schools were dressing and acting like white people. The Pitahawirat[a] proved most conservative and resisted change longest.

By the close of the decade the chiefs had accepted the inevitable. They blocked the agent in some minor measures, but for the most part expressed themselves eager to see the people educated and civilized. Officials were able to report that the tribe was anxious to have an allotting officer come to the reservation to register their individual tracts and issue certificates: the people were puzzled

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and uneasy about their legal rights as to leasing after allotment, and as to whether they would be subject to taxation, but it was felt they could easily be reassured.

The greatest discouragement and check upon programs of a progressive nature, from the years of removal on, was the physical unsoundness of the Pawnee tribe. In 1876, after the removal, the Pawnee numbered 2,026; in 1892 at the close of this period, the census listed 750. This tremendous decline, amounting to 62 per cent in a period of sixteen years, was the result of many interacting causes. Laboring under a blight of diseases and ill health, with the pride of their stock dying at an inexplicable rate, and all more or less weakened and ailing, a hopelessness came into Pawnee life from which there was no escape. This hopelessness and despair caused a deterioration of their home life, indicated by officials' reference to "filthy habits" and an "indifference to the condition of body or clothing." Their ancient medical lore was of no avail: their ancient gods had apparently deserted them. It is to be marvelled at that something of their old spirit and energy remained, and that they accomplished what they did in Indian Territory.

The white man's diseases had attacked them in the north. Pulmonary and venereal diseases in particular had vitiated their ancient stamina. But in the north the people were in a climate and a region to which the native constitution was adjusted from centuries of inhabitation. Until the white man came the people lived a free outdoor life. They were active. Sedentary as their way of life made them, the tribe roamed abroad on the hunt five months of the year; at home they were in the field and the open. The population of the region was not heavy; they had unpolluted streams and springs. They moved their villages at intervals of about eight years, avoiding pestilence.

The Nebraska country was relatively high, and the climate dry. In the removal the people came into a more fertile but humid country. Malarial fevers began to afflict them. In the winter of 1876, their first in Oklahoma, fevers, combined with other illnesses, if we are to believe the recorded figures, amounted to a plague. From 2,026 in 1876 the tribe declined in one year to 1,521![1] The manner of their removal involved long and continuous exposure, and the conditions of life upon their arrival were unhealthy and hazardous. Grinnell reports the condition in which their great friends, Major Frank North and his brother Luther, the organizers of the Pawnee scouts, found them in 1876 in Indian Territory. The

[1] Further and continuous declines the succeeding years indicate that no part of the tribe was accidentally omitted in the 1877 census.

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brothers North had come to enlist a company of one hundred scouts, "They were without food, without clothing, without arms and without horses. Their sole covering consisted of cotton sheets, which afforded no protection against cold and wet."[1] Every able-bodied man wanted to answer North's call. Every man who could wanted to get away from homes buried in suffering and disease, and to change the monotonous, restricted, and inactive life of the reservation for an active life in the army. Many who were not taken by North marched after his force on foot as far as Arkansas City, hoping to persuade him to enlist them.

Settled in camps of earth-lodges and tipis, with an inadequate food supply, insufficient clothing and no medical attention, inefficient and impotent officials remained satisfied for years to report the mortality and ascribe it to filthy habits of life, and the climate. Occasionally we hear that the people had poor protection from the weather, and that in addition to tuberculosis, pneumonia carried off a number.

A slight but temporary improvement in health took place in 1880 when for a season the food supply was adequate. The old men of the tribe said it was the first time in their lives that they had all the potatoes and vegetables they could eat. The people that fall looked well-nourished for the first time; the children fat and healthy.

The houses built for the Pawnee, and by the Pawnee under government instruction, made no sanitary provisions; as late as 1889 there were few if any outhouses, and luckily so, as the doctor commented, since the Pawnee without guidance were likely to construct them without vaults. As the people became settled in separate homes, the absence of suitable drinking water became a fertile source of disease. There were no wells; they used water from springs or creeks; they were not taught care in handling their water supply, and never cleaned out the springs. Even at the reservation school conditions for some years were bad.

In the reports, a doctor is first heard of in the tribe in 1881, but there are no indications of active medical aid until 1883. Then he began to teach them how to sink wells, and watch their water supply. He attributed fatalities in pneumonia cases to treatment by the native medicine men, and from this time forth there was a constant strife between the code of the medicine man and that of the agency physician. The diseases afflicting the tribe were ascribed to inherent taints, constitutional weakness, and inbreeding. It was not until 1897 that a Doctor Driesbach recognized that

[1] Grinnell, Pawnee Hero Stories and Folk Tales, p. 399.

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Pawnee medicine men did effect relief and cures in many cases, and that the sure way to bring the tribe to faith in white man's medicine was to prove its superiority. We may judge from this the efficiency of much of the treatment afforded the Pawnee for years.

In 1890 Dr. Phillips ascribed some part of Pawnee ailments to the fact that at feasts many gorged themselves and then lay dormant for two or three days, tending to derange the proper functioning of the digestive system. The Pawnee habits of eating went back to a time when an active, roving life made heavy eating a necessity. Without the hunt, without warfare, the men were confined, inactive and indolent. Farming was not yet an adequate substitute. Without skinworking, and the activities of camp life and the march, the women were limited to housework and household duties. The change of daily routine was severe and called for a difficult constitutional adjustment.

The question of inbreeding deserves brief comment. Pawnee marriage customs did involve the mating of kin at a certain distance removed. In their old life, families who were the proud possessers of sacred and esoteric lore attempted to retain control of these things by regulating intermarriage. The bands had been for the most part endogamous, and intermarriage with other tribes was infrequent. On the average a band numbered no more than 2,500. The inbreeding, however, seems not to have had ill effects until inheritable weaknesses of a major sort were among the tribe.

As the years passed, the Pawnee came to look to the government physicians more and more for help when sick. Their medicine men were unable to cope with the illnesses which afflicted them. In a few outstanding cases, such as the use of quinine for malarial fevers, the white man's medicine had "power."

The educational program was neither more efficient nor more successful for many years than the development of farms and homes. The Pawnee Industrial Boarding School on the Pawnee Reservation in Nebraska suspended operations at the time of removal. The funds saved were applied to the erection of a new brick school building on the Oklahoma reservation. This was not in operation until several years after the tribe located in Indian Territory. Its facilities were severely inadequate. Not more than one-fourth of the Pawnee children of school age could be accomodated. As a result, officials were not able to enforce treaty provisions; they could not compel continuous attendance even of those registered for schooling, since they could not provide facilities. There was a move to organize a day school, which would not only make provision for fifty additional pupils, but would obviate the objection

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and antagonisms of parents who did not want their children continually away from the family hearth. Sanitary conditions in the school buildings were not the best. Bathrooms and adequate dormitory facilities to avoid crowding were not available until the summer of 1889. Dr. Phillips in his report of that year stated that he expected these changes to reduce sickness at the school.

The aim of instruction in the reservation school was to give the children a background which would bring them closer to the conditions of life in white communities. The boys were taught manual arts and farming, the girls housekeeping and sewing; both groups learned to read. The instruction in industrial arts was for some time not very efficient, an agent commenting in 1881 that the school was only nominally "industrial." The schooling of the girls was impeded by the tribal practice of marrying them off young at which time they would be withdrawn from school.

The general educational program of the Department of Indian Affairs began to be broadened in 1879 with the establishment of the Carlisle School at Carlisle, Pennsylvania. This was the first non-reservation school for Indians. Lieut. R. H. Pratt of the United States Army, when in charge of Indian prisoners of war exiled in Florida, conceived that education was a better method of handling them than imprisonment. At the same time, it would not do to return them to their reservations. As an experiment a number were sent to Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute in Virginia, a school originally established for Negro education. The trial was so successful that Pratt was able to persuade the government to establish under his charge a school for Indians exclusively. The objective in organizing non-reservation schools was to divorce Indian children completely for a term of years from the ways of life of the parental generation; it was hoped that many could in this way be persuaded to take up life in white communities altogether, and that those who did return to the reservations would become leaders in the movement to civilize their peoples. The course at Carlisle ran from three to four years. It gave practical training in the manual arts, and common schooling as far as the high school grade. In addition, the "outing" system was adopted early, by which for one term of each school year a boy or girl boarded with and worked for a white family in the east. Many became self-supporting while at school, with small bank accounts of savings. Following the example of Carlisle, other non-reservation Indian schools were soon established, Chilocco and Haskell.

Thirteen Pawnee were enrolled at Carlisle the year it was opened; a few years later the number had increased to nineteen, including

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thirteen boys and six girls. Pawnee boys took work in carpentering, wagon-making, harness-making, tailoring, shoemaking, printing and farming. The girls learned sewing, laundry-work and housework. In addition boys and girls had classes in regular school subjects. Thirteen Pawnee went to Chilocco when that institution opened in 1884; and later Pawnee were entered at Haskell. By 1889 between the non-reservation schools and the schools on the Pawnee reservation, most of the Pawnee of school age were in attendance at some government institution.

The schools were successful in teaching the Pawnee to read and use English, and Carlisle and Chilocco were particularly successful in teaching vocational trades and every-day manners. The outlet for a Pawnee to practice a trade was however, not apparent. Pratt, in charge of Carlisle, did all he could to induce Carlisle graduates to remain in the East and live and work among white people. A few Indians did so, including several Pawnee. The case of Mark Evarts is typical. Successfully trained as a harness-maker, and without close relatives at home, he worked some years at his trade in Harrisburg, Philadelphia and Newark. A man gifted in adjusting himself to alien ways, he lived successfully in the East. But in the end it was apparent to him that his life with white people was at best a makeshift, an apology for being an Indian. He returned home to his people, and the consciousness of his past and his fate overcame him. All the promises he had sincerely given to Pratt, a great friend of his, failed to stem the tide of fellow-feeling which surged over him back on the reservation. A Ghost Dance vision reconverted him, he immersed himself in Indian ways, recalled the teachings of his childhood, and became again a Pawnee. Those who returned to the reservation immediately upon graduation from Carlisle were even more rapidly drawn back into the mood of Indian life. Man does not live by bread alone, and the best that the government could claim it had given the Indian by education, was a means of making a living.

The government did not fail to apprehend that in the change of life from old Indian ways to the white man's civilization, the activities which of old had made the Indian men and women self-reliant and resolute were taken from them. The people no longer depended on the chiefs and leaders, and these on themselves: both looked to the agent for guidance and direction. The Indians neither made their own way of life, nor managed their own affairs. From cultural maturity as Pawnee they were reduced to cultural infancy as civilized men.

To counteract this tendency, however, there was only the weight

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of the government program to make the Pawnee self-maintaining farmers, to induce them to labor at manual pursuits, building their own houses, repairing their own implements, wagons and harness, and to give them the management of the freighting of their own supplies. In the later years a measure of self-government was introduced in the form of the Court of Indian Offenses.

Under the reservation system the only governmental authority was that of the Department of Indian Affairs, which, through the Department of the Interior, was part of the executive branch of the United States government. Laws and acts of Congress prescribed the manner in which the Department and its agencies were run, but for ordinary legal purposes on the reservation the agent in charge was sole arbiter. As soon as practicable a Court of Indian Offenses, by means of which the Indians adjudicated their own affairs, was instituted on an Indian reservation. Up to 1887 the tribes of the Pawnee agency, including the Pawnee, Ponca, Oto and the Tonkawa, preferred to bring their troubles to the agent and accept his decision as final. In 1889 the Pawnee asked that a court of their own be established, and this was done December 1 of that year. The court was composed of three Pawnee judges, who sat the 3rd and 23rd of each month to hear cases on file. The proceedings were written down by a clerk. When the case had been heard each judge gave his decision, and the agreement of two carried. In the first year it functioned, the Pawnee Court of Indian Offenses tried twenty-four cases. These involved the settlement of Indian estates, the adjustment of debts, destruction of property, drunkenness and divorce. The Court continued to function until 1893 when the Pawnee, with the breaking up of their reservation became citizens of the United States and subject to Territorial Law. Along with the Court and its jurisdiction went the organization of the Indian Police. Earlier, in Nebraska, a force of Pawnee had at intervals policed the tribe. At first they were subject to the will of the chiefs, later they were directly responsible to the agent. In Oklahoma the force of eight policemen was responsible for the arrest and handling of those who came before the Court of Indian Offenses. Judges and policemen were paid small salaries by the government.

The disintegration of the old Pawnee culture which took place in the period from 1876 to 1892 was in part a correlative of the change in their economic and material life; in part however it was stimulated by direct government attack upon specific customs and ways.

Of their social and political life the power and control of the

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chiefs, priests and medicine men, and the customs of marriage and divorce, were directly opposed by officials. That the chiefs were finally losing power was not however, a result either of the official opposition, or altogether of the breaking up of the band villages; it flowed more directly from the gradual introduction of individualized property control. The traditional native view of a chief was that he was the "father" of his people, who must see to the well-being of every individual in the tribe. To do so the chief had to be able to control a larger quantity of property than the average individual in order to give and help wherever it was necessary. This he accomplished through his individual prowess on the war path and the hunt. But in addition, tribespeople who valued him as chief and leader contributed to his resources in order to aid him to maintain himself and succor his people. Individual ownership of homes and farms not only made individuals materially independent of the chief and tribe, but reduced the chief to a property equality with his tribespeople, making it impossible for him to continue the customs of paternal generosity which tradition commended to him. Without being able to give to and help the poor and distraught, the chief not only lost respect and self-respect, but he was unable to prove his supernatural right to leadership, or that fortune was with him, that the powers of the universe were on his side, and through him were guiding the people.

The agents did not understand this. They felt merely that the chief had power to command so long as the people lived clustered together around him. They expressed in their reports the hope that recognition of chiefs by the Department of Indian Affairs would become a memory.

The polygynous marriage customs of the Pawnee, based primarily on the sororate or marriage of younger sisters of the wife, were not interfered with up to 1881. Along with the way in which marriage was arranged by the parents without consulting the young people, and the ceremony itself, involving a transfer of horses and other property, Pawnee polygyny was, however, consistently considered reprehensible by officials. Polygyny as well as first marriages involved girls who were very young, often fourteen or fifteen. These were withdrawn from school at once, and as it was impossible to carry out an educational program which would send girls of such a tender age into the tribal life as civilizing influences, the practice of marrying them so young destroyed the efficiency of the school as an instrument of civilization. Divorce by mutual consent was a custom of the Pawnee, which involved a looseness of marital relations from the white standpoint.

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Marriage customs were attacked in two ways: legally and ethically. Toward the close of this period the government program called for an attempt on the part of officials of the Indian service to insist upon civil marriage under the laws of the United States, to oppose wife-purchase and the marriage of the young girls, to register civilly the marriages of those living together in accordance with old customs, and to oppose easy separation and divorce. Since the individual men and women were becoming possessors of private property in the form of land, houses, stock and implements, by controlling the inheritance of estates in terms of the white man's law, and refusing to recognize "wives" not legally married, the program began to have an effect. After 1883 missionaries of the Home Missionary Society and the Methodist Episcopal Church worked in the tribe, and developed a small congregation of church members. The missionary influence was brought to bear against the Pawnee marriage usages from a moral angle. The agent cooperated with the missionaries in persuading the Pawnee to go through a Christian marriage ceremony as well as to secure a legal certificate. By 1890 officials claimed in their reports that the Pawnee were regularly seeking the missionary to perform the marriage ceremony for them: that by prompt action they had prevented all cases which came to their attention of "selling girls for ponies": and that while polygyny had not been stamped out, there were no new cases of a wife being taken where the man already had a wife. A final claim was that divorces were unknown, or rare, which is to be doubted.

The dancing, gambling and feasting to which the tribe was addicted were marked out as dissipations contributing to indolence, and the agent by the most active measures at his command attempted to prevent social gatherings for such purposes as much as possible. In June 1891 the agent was surprised that the tribe assembled for a dance (probably a ceremony): he ordered it stopped at once and told the people to go to their homes and attend to their work. He could not however enforce his commands, and while some did go, most remained and carried out the dance. Such social affairs kept the people away from their farms for long periods, and the crops were neglected. In the old days the Pawnee methods of cultivation were adjusted to their calendric rituals, and by June, when the time for the hunt and summer ceremonies came, the crops were "laid by": the tribe was not yet adjusted to intensive cultivation, involving constant care.

The conflict with the Pawnee medicine men was long and difficult. The government was determined to destroy their power over the people, and to persuade the Pawnee to depend on the

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agency physician. Unfortunately, except in a small part of the cases, the physician was notoriously unsuccessful in combating the diseases which were decimating the tribe; certainly he seemed no more successful than the native medicine man. The physician's services, paid for by government salary, were free to the people who sought his aid, while the native medicine man was paid in property by the patients he cured. Considering the medicine men charlatans and fakers, who deceived and befuddled the people, the officials regarded the customary compensation as extortion. But in spite of official antagonism the tribe was not drawn altogether away from their doctors: the Doctor Dances continued to be demonstrated, constituting practically the only major religious ceremonies which were demonstrated; and as late as 1888 an agent reported that the Pawnee "still have more confidence in their medicine men than the Queen of England has in McKenzie."

From a material standpoint, the close of this period found the Pawnee in a condition of partial adjustment to the new order, and relative prosperity. Most of the people were scattered on their farms, and doing well; they were accumulating stock around them. Between their government funds and their produce the tribe was practically self-sustaining.

In 1890 Grinnell described conditions upon the reservation: "As we came in sight of Black Bear Creek, I was surprised to see what looked like good farm houses dotting the distant bottom. . . . Most well-to-do . . . Pawnees live in houses as good as those of many a New England land owner, and . . . better than those inhabited by new settlers in the farther West. Many . . . have considerable farms under fence, a barn, a garden in which vegetables are raised, and a peach orchard . . . By far the greater number wear civilized clothing, ride in wagons, and send their children to the agency school . . .[1]"

If their material life was at last approaching peace and security for the handful of Pawnee (759 in 1892) who had survived the long history of disasters, plagues and abuse, to what are we to attribute the revulsion against conditions which expressed itself in 1892 in the Ghost Dance? Before considering this aspect of the history of Pawnee acculturation, which will concern us in the next chapter, let us turn briefly to a recapitulation of the status of Pawnee culture in 1892.

[1] Grinnell, Pawnee Hero-Stories and Folk-Tales, pp. 400—401.

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CULTURAL STATUS AT THE DAWN OF THE GHOST DANCE

By 1892 the aboriginal Pawnee culture of a century earlier had been profoundly altered. A tribe of villagers, accustomed to living in earth-lodges and tipis, and to maintaining themselves by digging-stick cultivation of corn, beans and squash, and by hunting the buffalo, had become a loose aggregate of people, living more or less in families on separate farm tracts, dependent for their maintenance in part on plow cultivation of the land, and in part on the philanthropy of their overlords, the United States government.

From a political and social standpoint the Pawnee had been transformed from an independent self-determining nation into a group of families subject to the will of representatives of an alien race. The Pawnee chiefs were chiefs only in name and ancient lineage; what power they had among the Pawnee flowed from a continuing respect for their origins and their conduct. But no directing leadership in the destiny of the tribe was open to the chiefs; they could decide what they wished in council; it must then be submitted to the approval and sanction of the Agent, a representative of another government which ruled them.

The hunt and the warpath were gone, and with them the activities of youth and early manhood, which, in terms of the tradition and beliefs of their race, gave value to the life of a man. The hazard and danger of life as they had lived it before made them energetic, active and self-reliant. He who did not depend upon himself was lost. Now there was always the annuity, the agent, and rations. For women the life had also been radically altered. Their former routine had been a difficult and laborious one, working in the fields, making tent covers and clothing, cooking, and tending the children. But it had been part of a life which had broad and deep meaning as a way of life, in which their function was basic and valuable.

The family relationships which had brought all the people close together in their villages were broken down with the substitution of frame houses on the farms for the old earth-lodge. In the earth-lodge a large, extended family lived together; the family line cohered around the women. On the farms the frame house was built for a man as head of a family, and was primarily for the small, limited family group as conceived by the white man.

From a material standpoint the arts and techniques which had been practised for centuries by the people, carried to practical perfection as their form of adjustment to the conditions of the world in which they lived, were broken down by the appearance of

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a new set of conditions in which they were no longer necessary or possible.

The extinction of the buffalo and the complete cessation of hunting meant the elimination of all the arts which had centered around the handling of skins. Tipis were no longer necessary; buffalo robes were not as good as blankets; the preparation of skin clothing was a thankless task when the agent issued the appurtenances of the white man for the asking. The technique of using wood for bowls and utensils, for mortar and pestle, for traps and bows and arrows, was passing into oblivion. The working of horn and bone, of which spoons and ladles had been made, was unnecessary in view of the ease with which the white man's pots and pans and utensils could be had. Pottery of clay had already become extinct for lack of use and function.

The beliefs and philosophies of men to be alive must be inherent in and consonant with the way by which men live. When the men no longer hunted the buffalo, when they no longer needed power and invulnerability on the warpath, when the women no longer had to contribute fertility to the fields they planted, the ancient cosmology of the Pawnee was without a reference. The ritual lore of the great sacred bundles of the tribe was handed on less and less: it died with priests who, increasingly subject to death as the mortality of the tribe increased year by year, had neither time nor inspiration to hand it on. The ceremonies, becoming functionless, became extinct.

Once the young men of the tribe joined in many brotherhoods. These societies of men concerned themselves with the activities of manhood in Pawnee life, hunting and war. Each had special powers and functions for aiding in the successful accomplishment of the ends of war and the hunt, powers derived from the greater bundles which came directly from the ruling forces of the world. These societies too became functionless, and as the membership died off, the brotherhoods no longer met to dance and sing.

The chiefs had constituted a brotherhood of their own. When youths became men, and took upon themselves the serious business of maintaining the welfare of the tribe, they could, by demonstrating in their daily behavior their growing wisdom and capacity for leadership, become eligible to sit in the society of the chiefs. The forms of the chief's society ritual was carried on down into the present; much that was of value in the old ethics of the tribe was still explained to the youths even a year ago by the few who had not forgotten. But here again, the paramount functions of the society were gone.

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The medicine men of the tribe carried on. The Doctor Dances were given year after year; although after 1878 the great Doctor Performances through which the medicine men renewed their powers were no longer demonstrated. The function of the doctors did not disappear; health became a possession more difficult to secure as the years passed. But against the white man's diseases the folk medicine of the Pawnee doctors proved essentially futile; as did the white man's medicine itself.

With the passing of the greater part of the old ritualism and ceremony, the arts of ceremonial decoration, of making ritual costumes, bear-claw necklaces, otter-skin collars, of painting the body, went with them. The Doctor Dances kept something of the ritual decorative arts alive.

If we turn from this catalog of the decline of aboriginal Pawnee culture what can we see that had come to take its place? Needing the Indian's land for the expansion of the white man, the government was compelled to give the Indian an economy which would be self-sustaining while it confined the tribe in narrower boundaries. It gave the Indian farming. This being seasonal, and subject to the vicissitudes of the elements, it did not mean independence. For a meat supply the Indian did not use his own resources; the government gave him meat. When his crops failed, the government rationed him.

What occupations took the place of the old? The boys learned some manual arts. They could help to build their own houses, to repair their implements; the girls meanwhile learned some sewing, how to wash clothing, how to keep house. All these were essentially mechanical operations; their aesthetic returns are for the most part small. What creative satisfaction was to be had in manual arts, the boys did achieve in harness-making, carpentering, wagon-making, and the like, where they had opportunity to put into practise what they had learned.

The small measure of self-government which the Indians were offered through the Court of Indian Offenses was subject to the paternal control of the Agent and the government: it was concerned after all with the minor legal problems of their life. It helped to revive something of self-determination.

If we turn finally to the intellectual side of Pawnee life we find that practically nothing came to take the place of the old rituals and ceremonies, the old dances and social gatherings, the old traditions and songs. Missionaries had been among the Pawnee from 1835 to 1837, and again there were missionaries after 1883

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With what results? In 1891 even the optimistic reports of the missionaries claimed only thirty-five church members, and twenty or more years later not over a seventh of the tribe even professed Christianity according to official reports.

In 1892, after the best efforts of the Pawnee for over three generations to adjust themselves to living alongside the white man, the tribe had come to a cultural impasse, with nothing to look forward to and nothing to live by.

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II.

THE GHOST DANCE AMONG THE PAWNEE.[1]

THE GHOST DANCE: ORIGIN AND SPREAD

The Ghost Dance religion of 1890 arose in the visions of Wovoka, the Paiute Messiah, about 1888, although its roots lie deeper in the past. Wovoka is said to have been a son of Ta'vibo the Paiute prophet of 1870, whose doctrines had been the stimulus of the Ghost Dance which swept through the tribes of northern California in the years from 1871 to 1874. The doctrines of the son do not seem to have differed materially from those of the father.

As a child Wovoka was brought up in a household where he could not fail to be influenced by the practices of the medicine man. He was known as a medicine man for some years before he developed the Ghost Dance doctrine. In January 1889, at the time of a total eclipse of the sun visible in Nevada, Wovoka was sick with a severe fever. He was then about 33 years of age. In the tribe the eclipse caused frantic excitement. "The air was filled with the noise of shouts and wailings and the firing of guns." The people were trying to drive away the monster who was devouring the sun.

Wovoka fell asleep, or "died", and "was taken up into the other world. Here he saw God with all the people who had long ago died engaged in their old time sports and occupations, all happy and forever young. It was a pleasant land and full of game... God told him he must go back and tell his people they must be good and love one another, have no quarreling and live in peace with the whites: that they must work, and not lie and steal: that they must put away the old practices that savored of war: that if they faithfully obeyed his instructions they would at last be reunited with their friends in the other world, where there would be no more death or sickness or old age. He was then given the dance which he was commanded to bring back to his people. By performing

[1] Informants: Mark Evarts, Ezra Tilden, Joseph Carrion and Mrs. Goodeagle, all of whom played roles in the Ghost Dance developments among the Pawnee. Published sources consulted: Murie, Societies; Mooney, Ghost Dance; Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. (see bibliography).

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this dance at intervals, for five successive days each time, they would secure this happiness to themselves and hasten the event. Finally God gave him control over the elements so that he could make it rain or snow or be dry at will, and appointed him his deputy to take charge of affairs in the west... He then returned to earth, and he began to preach as he was directed, convincing the people by exercising the wonderful powers that he had given him."[1]

Wovoka had "five songs for making it rain, the first of which brings on a mist or cloud, the second a snowfall, the third a shower, and the fourth a hard rain or storm, while when he sings the fifth song, the weather again becomes clear."[2]

The first dancing among the Paiute involved no trances. But the people of the various Nevada reservations made their own interpretations of Wovoka's purpose and doctrine; they spread the word that Christ himself had come, and that people should dance. Wovoka never claimed to be the Son of God; he sincerely believed he was a prophet with a divine revelation to impart.

The doctrine initiated by Wovoka spread with startling rapidity. Conditions of communication among the Indian tribes were not what they had been aboriginally. A great many of the younger men who had been away to government schools returned with a knowledge of reading and writing, and having made firm friendships with boys of other tribes while at school, corresponded at intervals with them. By letter as well as by word of mouth the news spread that the Messiah had come.

The first spread of the Ghost Dance was from the Paiute of the Walker River reservation to their neighbors immediately around them: the scattered bands of Paiute in Nevada and Oregon, the Washo living alongside them, the Bannock, Ute and Gosiute, and the Shoshoni of the Fort Hall reservation in Idaho. From this central Rocky Mountain region the religion spread in three general directions: to some of the tribes north and south of the nucleus formed by the Paiute and their immediate neighbors; into the northern Plains; and into the southern Plains.

In 1889 the Ghost Dance was taken up almost simultaneously by the eastern neighbors of the Paiute: the Bannock, Shoshoni, Gosiute and Ute. To the north it reached the Pit River Indians in northern California in 1890. Mohave delegates came in 1890 to investigate reports which had reached them from the southern Paiute and through them the Ghost Dance penetrated southward to the Walapai, the Chemehuevi, and the Havasupai of Cataract

[1] Mooney, 771—772.
[2] Ibid. 772—773.

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Canyon, reaching the Mission Indians in southern California in 1891.

In the spread of the Ghost Dance into the Plains, the Bannock and Shoshoni Indians of the Fort Hall Reservation in Idaho were instrumental. It was a Bannock Indian from Ft. Hall who early in 1889 visited the Shoshoni and northern Arapaho of the Wind River reservation in Wyoming bearing the news of the doctrine. That very summer these tribes sent delegates to find the Messiah in Mason Valley and learn the facts, and on the return of the delegation that fall the tribes of the Wind River reservation began the Ghost Dance.

The Arapaho and Shoshoni of Wind River now became in turn the transmitters of the Ghost Dance doctrine to the tribes of the northern Plains. A Gros Ventre from the Ft. Belknap agency was a visitor among the Arapaho, when in 1889 the delegates returned from their journey to see the Messiah. He heard the news and took it home with him to the Gros Ventre and Assiniboin on the Ft. Belknap reservation. In the fall of the same year northern Cheyenne from Montana, and Teton and Yankton Dakota[1] came to Wind River to verify among the Arapaho and Shoshoni the reports which had reached them of a Messiah and a resurrection. Some of the Cheyenne returned home at once with their report, but a number, accompanied by several Shoshoni and Arapaho continued westward with the Dakota. They left the Wind River reservation in November 1889, proceeding to the Fort Hall reservation in Idaho where they found the Bannock and Shoshoni dancing. Continuing their journey to visit the Messiah himself, all the Indians with whom they came in contact from the Fort Hall reservation until they reached Wovoka at Walker Lake were dancing the Ghost Dance. Several Shoshoni and Bannock from Fort Hall joined the party; they went by railroad to Pyramid Lake, Nevada, and thence by wagon to Mason Valley.

In the early spring of 1890 Porcupine and his northern Cheyenne companions had returned to the tribe on the Tongue River reservation in Montana, bringing the news.

Dakota Sioux had been along on the journey; the news had first reached the Oglala division of the Teton Dakota at Pine Ridge reservation in 1889. As a result of the pilgrimage the doctrine penetrated to the Sioux at the Ft. Peck reservation in Montana,

[1] Miss Ella Deloria tells me that Yankton Dakota did not take up the Ghost Dance. Mooney refers broadly to "Sioux of the Dakotas", failing to distinguish Yankton and Yanktonai participation in the movement and leaving open the implication that all took part.

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and at the Standing Rock, Cheyenne River, Lower Brulé, Pine Ridge, and Rosebud reservations in North and South Dakota. It swept like wildfire through the Teton and Yankton Dakota; 20,000 of the Dakota became active in Ghost Dancing.

It was not long after the northern Arapaho and Shoshoni of the Wind River reservation had visited Wovoka in the summer of 1889 that the doctrine began to penetrate the tribes of the southern Plains. Letters from their kinsmen in the north told the southern Arapaho and Cheyenne in Oklahoma in the summer of 1889 what was going on. A delegate from the southern Arapaho was at Wind River agency when the pilgrims of the northern tribes had returned from Nevada to report. He joined the Ghost Dance there, and returned in April 1890 to the Arapaho and Cheyenne of Oklahoma. He inaugurated the dance among these tribes, becoming a leading prophet, Black Coyote. The Cheyenne of Oklahoma then sent their own delegates to visit their northern kinsmen; these returned with a favorable report, and the southern Cheyenne took up the dance the summer of 1890.

That fall saw the great development of the Ghost Dance in the southern Plains. Sitting-Bull, prophet of the Ghost Dance among the northern Arapaho, came to Oklahoma to instruct the tribes there in the doctrine and the forms of the dance. A great dance was held in September on the South Canadian River, near the Darlington Agency. There were present, besides the southern Cheyenne and Arapaho, the Caddo, the Wichita, Kiowa and Kiowa Apache. The second day of the dance, Sitting-Bull carried out his promise to show the people great things, by putting many dancers into hypnotic trances, the first time this was known in the Ghost Dance of the southern Plains. Sitting-Bull was at this time instrumental in persuading the southern Cheyenne and Arapaho to sign an agreement with the government by which they relinquished much of their reservation land for payment. He told them that they needed the money, and that the Messiah would soon restore the land to them. In spite of the failure by this time of a number of prophecies of the time when the resurrection and change would occur, the dance continued to spread.

After the great dance of September 1890 the Caddo, Delaware, Wichita, Kitsai, Kiowa, Kiowa Apache and Comanche took up the movement. Sitting-Bull visited the Caddo personally in December 1890, and, after instructing them by means of the sign language, "gave the feather" to the seven chosen as leaders of the Caddo Ghost Dance. At first the Caddo used Arapaho songs; then developed their own. The Delaware danced with them.

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The Wichita and Kitsai first took over the dance from the Caddo. But in February, 1891, Sitting Bull was again in Oklahoma. He came to visit the Wichita and inducted the seven Wichita leaders ceremonially into office.

The same month a Kiowa who had been to visit Wovoka had returned, and as word spread that he had important news for all the tribes, a great council was held February 19, 1891 at Anadarko. Apiatan, the Kiowa, had a discouraging report to communicate. He faced the great multitude and told them that the reports of the great powers of the Messiah were false. The Messiah did not speak all languages, but only Paiute; he was not omniscient, for he had asked Apiatan who he was and why he had come; and he had no scars on his hands and feet, so he was not Christ. Wovoka had refused to call spirits of Apiatan's deceased relatives into their presence, saying he could not do so. By this time the Messiah was astounded at the forces he had set in motion. The Sioux Ghost Dance disasters of 1890 to 1891 were blamed on him. He told Apiatan that the Sioux had twisted everything up; he told him to go home to his people and tell them to stop dancing.

Sitting-Bull was present, and rose to answer. He told the people again what Wovoka had said to him the year before. Apiatan replied that it was not true; that Sitting-Bull was deceiving the people for mercenary gain. Sitting-Bull replied that the many horses he had received had not been asked for; and that those who had lost faith and wished them back could come and receive them.

This adverse report stopped the Kiowa from dancing for a time. They revived the Ghost Dance in 1894. But the other tribes who heard the report, including the Kiowa Apache, refused to believe it. They said Apiatan had been bought by the government to deceive the Indians in this way. They continued dancing. Apiatan received a medal from President Harrison.

In 1891 Frank White, a Pawnee Indian, was among the southern Oklahoma tribes who were Ghost Dancing; he participated in dances among the Comanche and Wichita, learned the doctrine, and observed the early forms in which the dancing was at that time organized according to the instruction of Sitting-Bull, the northern Arapaho. In the late summer of 1891 he returned north to the Pawnee.

The Cheyenne and Arapaho became the most inspired leaders of the movement in the south. They sent several delegations to visit Wovoka. One of these, in the fall of 1891 brought back a message from Wovoka which had been written down by a delegate in broken English. I quote part of Mooney's version[1]:

[1] Mooney, p. 781.

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"When you get home you must make a dance to continue five days. Dance four successive nights, and the last night keep up the dance until the morning of the fifth day, when all must bathe in the river and then disperse to their homes. You must all do in the same way...

"When your friends die you must not cry. You must not hurt anybody or do harm to anyone. You must not fight. Do right always. It will give you satisfaction in life...

"Do not tell the white people about this. Jesus is now upon earth. He appears like a cloud. The dead are all alive again. I do not know when they will be here; maybe this fall or in the spring. When the time comes there will be no more sickness and everyone will be young again.

"Do not refuse to work for the whites and do not make any trouble with them until you leave them. When the earth shakes do not be afraid. It will not hurt you.

"I want you to dance every six weeks. Make a feast at the dance and have food that everybody may eat. Then bathe in the water. That is all. You will receive good words again from me some time. Do not tell lies."

Up to the time of this direct communication the tribes in the southern plains had been holding one-day Ghost Dances at irregular intervals. The Cheyenne, Arapaho, Wichita and Caddo thereafter adopted the new rule, organizing five-day dances at intervals of six weeks, in accordance with the instructions of the Messiah.

Delegates from the Cheyenne and Arapaho of Oklahoma brought the Ghost Dance directly to the Ponca, the Oto and Missouri, the Iowa and Kansa.

The rapidity with which the Ghost Dance spread from the Paiute center through the plateau and into the plains was in part due to the increased rapidity and ease of communication. Such a speedy diffusion could not have happened under aboriginal conditions. But the full explanation lies deeper. Those tribes who accepted the doctrine at once were, like the Pawnee whom we are especially considering, at a cultural impasse. Those tribes who rejected the doctrine were either in an aboriginal state in which the values of their old life still to a certain extent functioned, or they were under the influence of specific religions brought to them by missionaries, or, as in the case of the Navaho and Osage, they were well off materially, and did not feel the need of the new doctrine. In 1870 a Ghost Dance movement, stemming from the doctrines of Wovoka's

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father, had spread with an almost equal rapidity through Californian tribes. The dance of 1890 did not affect those tribes. Conversely the movement of 1870 did not penetrate the Plains. Kroeber has suggested that in 1870 the Plains tribes had not been reduced to such a state of cultural decay as to make them susceptible to revivalistic doctrine, while the Californian tribes had been overrun some years before in the gold rush and by 1870 their old culture had been destroyed. Kroeber also considers that the experiences of the Californian peoples in 1870 to 1874 made them impassive to a second wave of similar doctrine.[1]

The doctrines of Wovoka as revealed in what he told Mooney of his vision experiences, and in the message he gave the Cheyenne and Arapaho, are clearly doctrines of peace. In only one region where the Ghost Dance was taken up was this aspect forgotten. The western Dakota, from of old militaristic in their antagonism to the whites and the changes taking place in their lives, accustomed to taking an active and resistant part, transformed the doctrine from one of peaceful faith and hope, into one of war. The rapport with the supernatural achieved in the dance was not only a guarantee of eventual participation in the new resurrected life, but it gave invulnerability in battle. The attitude of the Sioux culminated in blunders on the part of American army men, and brought on the conflicts of 1890 to 1891 and the Massacre at Wounded Knee. The Sioux troubles made government officials suspicious of Ghost Dancing wherever it occurred, and it was put down with all the force agents could muster, in order to prevent anticipated bloody revolt. Elsewhere, however, the doctrine remained one of peace, a simple hope that a change was coming which would give the Indians back their land, their buffalo and their old life. The message and vision of Wovoka emphasized that in the new life disease and death would be no more, an aspiration full of hope to a people like the Pawnee, who for generations had been undergoing the worst ravages of disease with their loved and venerated ones dying all about them.

DOCTRINE AND EARLY HISTORY OF THE PAWNEE GHOST DANCE

As early as 1890 rumors had reached the Pawnee of a Messiah who had appeared to an Indian somewhere in the mountains. He was supposed to have visited the dead people, and to have

[1] Kroeber, A. L. Handbook of the Indians of California, p. 869.

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668 177 seen them dancing in a circle.[1] Nothing authentic and substantiated reached the tribe, however, until the fall of 1891[2] when Frank White came home to the Pawnee after his stay with the Wichita.

The Pawnee tell of White's learning the Ghost Dance among the southern tribes in the following way:

669 177 796 "One time Frank White went over to the Comanche, who were dancing the Ghost Dance. He went inside and sat down on the north side. He ate peyote, a great deal, until he was nearly overcome. He bent his head and covered his eyes. He was a good-looking man who used to wear decorative red twine over his brow. [276 301] The Comanche did not know him, and the next morning they asked him who he was, and he said he was a Pawnee. Then he left them and went to the Wichita. He ate peyote there, and watched them dance the Ghost Dance and learned it. Then he came home and brought it to the South Bands. He told them what he had learned."

668 177 The period during which Frank White studied the Ghost Dance among the Comanche and the Wichita was in the year following the great Ghost Dance of the fall of 1890, led by Sitting-Bull. The forms of leadership and organization he learned were those preached by Sitting-Bull, and initiated by him personally among the Caddo and Wichita.

[787] Murie has spoken of White's experiences in the south. "Frank White... joined the dance. He went into a trance, saw the stream, the tree, the Messiah and then the village of people.[3] He also saw them dance, joined in, and learned some songs which were in Pawnee. The first song was as follows[4]:

[533 539]

we	*rihi*	*irasi·ra*
now	place where	yonder you come
	wetikuwatu	*ruwahe*
	now I long for	the {village / region

[1] Murie, Societies, pp. 630—632 recounts a long narrative of the story which was supposed to have reached the Pawnee in 1890.

[114] [2] Murie, Societies, p. 633, says "in the fall of 1892." This is a misprint or a slip on Murie's part. In the account which follows Murie describes events of a winter and summer which intervene between White's return to the Pawnee and his arrest; White was arrested in 1892. Furthermore, we can date the time White left the Wichita by the fact that he left before the Arapaho delegation arrived in the fall of 1891 with the message from Wovoka, which, in spite of the objections of Sitting-Bull, necessitated a change in the form of the Ghost Dancing.

[3] Murie is doubtless referring here to the narrative of Wovoka's vision as known to the Pawnee which he gives, pp. 630—632.

[4] The form I quote here is a retranscription and retranslation of Murie's printed version, written by Dr. Gene Weltfish.

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we	*rihi*	*irasi·r[illegible]*	
a	*tsiksu*	*wétatu·ta*	*hi i*
and	{mind / spirit	now I do	

The place whence you come.
Now I am longing for.

The place whence you come,
Now I am ever mindful of.

When he awoke from the trance he told the people what he had seen. Thus, he too became a prophet and possessed of the same power as Sitting-Bull".[1]

Frank White was a Kitkahaxki[x]. When he returned home to the Pawnee in the fall of 1891 he began to teach the doctrine and songs to friends of his in the South Bands. He told people, "The kingdom is coming soon now, so the people must prepare. This that I have is called ghost dancing. You must stop working because when the kingdom comes you won't take plows or things like that along. That's not ours."

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When Frank White instituted regular dances, these were among the South Bands; the Skiri would come over and join in under his leadership. The first songs were Arapaho and Wichita songs and the few songs that White had already developed for himself. White taught songs to several singers who assisted him in leading the dancing. He organized the group of seven leaders who wore crow feathers. The dancing took place in the open, east of a tipi in which White and his co-leaders gathered. At first the crowds which gathered were small, but many of them shook as the spirits took possession of them and fell. White had great power over them, and when his voice grew louder dancers would fall under the spell. White would talk to the people and tell them his experiences and how when they fell they would see the Messiah and all the dead people, and how this was a promise of the coming change.

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Those who first participated told others, and the excitement grew. Many were converted rapidly, and the crowds which came to dance under White's leadership grew larger. The arrangements gradually altered to take care of the crowds. White and his singers had their special tipi. Two of his leaders gathered paint among the people and took this into the sacred tipi. Here all the dancers who wished to have face paintings for the dance would go. Each one gave White presents in return for a face painting or a feather orna-

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[1] Murie, Societies, p. 632—633.

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668 ment. When all were dressed and painted for the dance, White and
177 his singers came out onto the open space east of the sacred tipi,
and formed the gathering into a circle. All joined hands, and with
794 White and his singers leading in the songs, they danced round and
796 round. Others rushed over to the dance ground to join in. Many
shook and fell. White and his leaders put others into trances, and
great excitement prevailed.

[787] In the evening they stopped to eat, and then continued dancing until late at night. From time to time those who fell would get up and tell what they had seen. Each had a message from the other world, and had learned songs. These visions became sanctions not only for special developments of the Ghost Dance, and of the hand games, but also for important revivals of old aspects of Pawnee life, which before this had ceased to function.

One evening all the Pawnee were gathered together where the South Band people lived. White was conducting the ceremonies. It was a fine clear evening, near sunset, with clouds across the sky in the west. The clouds in the sky across the west were like people sitting in a row. White told the people, "Now if you all come out here in the open where there is no timber, you can plainly see the people in the west. Those are the dead people. They are all waiting there. Now you see them. Pretty soon now the high wind will come and all the white people on earth will be blown away. Those (here he referred to Behaile, Dorf Carian, Harry Coons, James Murie, Rice, Pepan—all half breeds), such as they are the wind will pick up too, even if they are half breeds, because they don't believe in this dance. These believe in the white man's church. The wind will throw them against the heavy trees and crush them. The people who believe will be saved, because when the wind blows the white people away, they will all be left standing here. Those who believe will be shaken and fall down, and after they arise and open their eyes there will be no white people here. The buffalo will be here: everything will be just as it was before the white people came, and all our deceased folk, our fathers, our mothers, our grandfathers and our grandmothers, will be here with us."

All the people stood and watched these clouds in the west. All the people believed it, except a few. When the clouds were gone they all went home.

[788] One young man lay in a trance all night. White wanted all the people to hear his story, so in the evening of the next day, he ordered all the people onto a hill. There they stood in line facing

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west,[1] and the young man sat down facing them with the crier by his side. He said,

"When I joined in the dance I was filled with some kind of a spirit. I began to tremble and cry. I saw a strange being who wanted to catch me. I ran out of the ring and kept running away from the strange man. When he caught up with me I could see many wonderful things. He told me that if I stopped he would teach me the wonderful things I saw. I would not do this for I wanted to see some of my dead people. I ran until I was exhausted and could go no further and fell down as one dead. I was in a beautiful country where the grass was green. I saw a small pathway which I followed. I came to a clear stream of water and crossed it. Then I came to a cedar tree; on it were feathers of different birds and handkerchiefs of many colors. I took one of red silk and passed on. On a small hill I saw the Child of the Father in the Heavens dressed in purple. He held out his hands so I could see the cuts in them. He did not speak but I knew he wanted me to pass. I went by him and I saw at a distance the village of our dead people. As I neared the village four men came to meet me, each with a pipe in his hand. One of them said, 'My son, when you return to your people tell them you saw us and that we ask our people for a smoke. We are about to smoke to our people who are still living through the one who is leading us to your land. Go into the village and see your people.' I passed them and went on. Near the village I saw a woman. It was my mother. She embraced me and said, 'My child, I am glad to see you. We will go where our people are dancing.' So we went on and there in the center of the village our people were dancing the same dance we were dancing. I joined them and men came to me and blew their breaths upon me. I danced a while then one man asked me to tell you that I had seen the dance and that it was all true. He then told me to return, and when I turned round I awoke. I had been lying on the ground for some time. This is the end of what I saw."[2]

[1] This is the ceremonial arrangement followed later in smoking and opening the dance; see below.

[2] Murie, p. 634. This is the tradition of the way in which the smoke offering was introduced into Pawnee Ghost Dance arrangements.

In the vision two minor points are worth calling attention to. The dead blessed the young man in the Pawnee way when they blew their breath upon him. The closing statement, "this is the end," etc. follows the Pawnee literary form of myths and stories.

More significant is the suggestion of Christ as "leading the people," an identification of Christ with chieftainship, which concept determined important ritual aspects of the Pawnee Ghost Dance and Ghost Dance hand games.

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668 177 794 796 This young man was blessed by the people, and they also took a blessing from him. But when they touched him many fell or trembled. "After this four men were selected to smoke to the dead people."[1]

Murie also tells the interesting story of an unbeliever.

"A woman entered the ring and began to act as if crazy. She slapped a man and struck a woman and continued to slap and strike people. Everyone sat down. This woman stood in the center and said, 'That young man, the prophet, is lying. He is not telling the truth.' Two men whom the chiefs had previously selected to [625] act as police took her out of the ring and took her home as the prophet directed, for he said she was possessed of a bad spirit. [783] The next day the prophet and his singers took this woman to the creek and cleansed her. Afterwards she joined the dance again and was all right."[2]

Dancing was sporadic during the Winter of 1891, but gradually the dances followed each other in rapid succession. With few exceptions by 1892 the Pawnee were under White's influence and control. The situation forced itself upon official attention early in that year. "In February 1892 the Pawnee commenced what is known as a 'Ghost Dance', dancing in a circle, falling down in [786] a trance, and after some hours they awake and profess to have seen their dead friends. About two-thirds of the tribe seemed at this time to be possessed of the idea of the second coming of Christ, to destroy all the whites and to bring back the buffalo and the wild game."[3]

On account of the coming end of the world, and the uselessness of continuing work in the face of the expected changes which would bring back old times and the deceased relatives of the living, all those who became convinced of the Ghost Dance doctrine stopped work. Many left their plows in the field standing just as they had been in the midst of their work cultivating their corn.

648 668 794 As soon as the agent in charge of the Pawnee received word at the agency in Ponca City that the Pawnee were Ghost-Dancing, he wrote to the clerk in charge at the Pawnee agency to put a stop to the dancing immediately. "But the Indians seemed defiant and aggressive and it seemed at this time that trouble might be anticipated. Knowing that all religious fanatics are persistent and determined, I at once went to Pawnee and visited the camp of the so-called prophet Frank White, and after talking with him

[1] Murie op. cit.
[2] Murie, p. 635.
[3] Agent Wood in Annual Reports, 1891—92.

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and ascertaining his views, I told him he was an impostor and I wanted him at once to leave the reservation never to return. The next morning 200 Indians came to the agency and demanded a council. They were painted in high colors and seemed aggressive and defiant. After the arrival of an interpreter I opened the council in a two hours' talk on the coming of Christ and the true Messiah and the false Messiah as professed by them, and I plainly told them that the dance could not be tolerated and would not be; that this government would last and assert her power, and that they should be obedient to the law and be good Indians, return to their homes and cultivate their farms and raise something to eat. After they had spoken professing loyalty to the government and obedience to the law, they broke the council and returned to their homes."[1]

Although the effort to put a stop to Ghost Dancing continued, and officials would seek out meetings and try to break them up, the Pawnee were nevertheless gathering in secret to dance.

"At one camp about five miles east of the agency they decided one night to Ghost Dance. Word spread among the Indian folk and they gathered in numbers at the camp. There was one old man, George Esau, who had a great loud voice. The people were dancing in the moonlight. At night the echo goes a long way. When he cried out it could be heard clear over at the agency. One Indian who lived a mile north of town came on horseback to tell them. He said Esau's voice could be heard away over toward the west. 'The police may come; they can hear him.' Whenever they tried to quiet Esau he became worse, and his voice louder, and the people became afraid of him. Then they let him alone and stopped dancing, because they didn't want the agents to find out."[2]

It was in the midst of this year of excitement in the life of the Pawnee that the government had elected to carry out a further step in its program of civilizing the Pawnee and turning them into citizens. The plan was to complete the allotment of tracts in severalty among the Pawnee. Those who had already chosen plots and were living on them and cultivating the land were to be confirmed in their possession. All others must take them out. The Pawnee who had not as yet chosen to farm individual tracts were of course those who were most strongly opposed to the program. Furthermore the plan laid before the tribe involved the sale of their surplus lands after the Pawnee were provided with allotments per capita, and the opening of these lands to settlement by

[1] Agent D. J. M. Wood, in Annual Report, 1891—1892.
[2] Informant's narrative.

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668 white people. This meant essentially the final break-up of reservation life.

The commissioners to draw up the agreement with the Pawnee for the allotment of lands in severalty and the sale of surplus acreage was due the agency. It was at this time that the agent was compelled to take further steps to stop the Ghost Dancing.

The agent reported on the episode as follows: "In about two weeks thereafter news again reached me of the renewal of the Ghost Dance. I procured the assistance of a deputy United States marshal and he went to Pawnee and arrested the supposed prophet Frank White, and took him to Guthrie, Oklahoma, before a United States Commissioner, and he was held over until district court for inciting Indians to an insurrection, and remanded to jail to await his trial before the district court. In about ten days I received a telegram that a writ of habeas corpus had been issued and the hearing was the next day. I at once went to Guthrie and was at the hearing when Judge Green, chief justice of Oklahoma, gave him a good strong talk, telling him of the danger of indulging in such things, and released him. He went back to the reservation, and there has not been a Ghost Dance since. All is prosperous and serene at Pawnee. . ."[1]

The Pawnee recall the arrest as taking place at the time of trouble over the question of allotments. Officials spread the word in the tribe that if they took out allotments they could dance all they wanted to, and no one would interfere with them. This of course was a reference to the fact that the program which the government wanted to carry out would break up the reservation, and make the Pawnee individual land holders subject to the laws of the United States and the Territory in which they lived, in which event the agent would no longer have executive power to control them. This argument for taking out allotments had weight with many, and contributed to their final acquiescence.

To keep the Pawnee quiet for a while, they say the agent had [625] White arrested. A United States marshall and three Indian policemen, recalled as Harry Coons, John Morris and Jim Murie, arrested White, and it was understood by the Pawnee he was being taken to Red Rock. The Pawnee decided to fight to get the Prophet back. David Akapakis and some others took the lead and organized a party of men who got their guns and were going to fight. They gathered at the railroad station to take him away from the marshall. Said an informant, "The agent sent a telegram to a fort which was among the Cheyenne, and when the train came in a lot

[1] Annual Report, 1891—92.

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of soldiers got off. There were too many soldiers so the Pawnee couldn't fight. The marshall took White away and the Indians went home."

It was while White was away under arrest that most of the Pawnee who had been opposed were persuaded so choose allotments. They wanted to continue the Ghost Dance, and having been told they could dance if they took allotments, they did so. It must be remembered that in dividing up their land, and selling a good part of it, the Pawnee were doing something which was opposed to the faith and doctrine of the Ghost Dance. On the other hand, for those who were strong in their faith, the act was meaningless, since the change which would destroy the white man would restore them their lands in their aboriginal state.

Frank White was held ten or twelve days, and brought back. According to Murie, after White's release, the Messiah himself did what he could to develop the Ghost Dance movement along less militant lines. "To do this he magnified the Christian elements."

In pursuance of the government land program, a special allotting agent, with clerical assistants, came to the Pawnee agency in the summer of 1892. After the completion of their work, during which a total of 797 allotments in severalty were drawn up, the United States Commissioners came, empowered to treat with the Pawnee for the sale of their surplus lands. On November 23, 1892 they completed their agreement with the Pawnee. By it the allotments were confirmed; 840 acres were reserved for the school, agency, cemetery and religious purposes; and the residue of their reservation, 169,320 acres, was purchased to be thrown open to settlement. In compensation for their lands the government paid the Pawnee an advance of $ 80,000 to be distributed per capita upon the ratification of the agreement by act of Congress; and agreed to continue their perpetual annuity of $ 30,000 a year, thenceforth to be issued entirely in money.[1] The balance of the return from the sale of their Oklahoma lands was to be deposited in the United States Treasury as a trust fund to the credit of the Pawnee tribe, to draw interest at 5 per cent annually, which interest was to be distributed per capita.

The agreement was ratified March 3, 1893; and that year the lands ceded by the Pawnee were thrown open to white settlement. In selecting tracts for allotments the Pawnee had naturally been guided by the quality of the land. As a result the lands ceded and opened to white settlement were scattered all over what had been the Pawnee reservation, and before the year was out the tribe found

[1] Up to this time the annuity was half money, half goods and supplies.

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648 657 white settlers in among them and on all sides of them. Almost at once a town sprang up near the agency, the present Pawnee.

641 648 The Pawnee soon found that their legal status had changed; the agent no longer had executive power to control their acts and behavior. The people were now free citizens of the United States. The white people who settled among them and were anxious to do business with a tribe whose income, between their down payment, annuity, and interests, was $ 177,000 in 1893, were quick to tell them so. Then came the lease system for the Indian farm lands. But that is another story. What concerns us here is the effect of this change of status upon the Ghost Dance among the Pawnee.

648 668 177 At first, in 1893, the agent believed that by his prompt measures with Frank White the year before, he had stamped out the Ghost Dance. He wrote in his report, July 15, 1893: "This dance has almost disappeared... There is some religious enthusiasm in which they indulge and makes them more tractable and easy to manage, as they say they must do right under all circumstances." The agent felt that the tribe was well satisfied with their allotments, and was prosperous and united.

We, however, can note that this religious enthusiasm was none other than the Ghost Dance, in view of the ethical maxims quoted by the agent, but that from the official standpoint the movement had lost its militancy. By the following year, however, the agent himself was aware that Ghost Dances were being held regularly; that the Indians flouted his loss of authority, which they were now fully cognizant of. From this time forth until the turn of the century, the reports indicate that the agents were doing all in their power by moral suasion to keep the Indians from Ghost Dancing; but the religion continued none the less. At the turn of the century the form in which it flourished was the four-day Ghost Dance hand game ceremony, rather than the Ghost Dance proper.

FORMS OF WHITE'S SOUTH BAND GHOST DANCE

668 796 177 When White first brought the Ghost Dance to the Pawnee he organized the dancing simply. He taught some of the songs to a few singers, gathered the people together in a large conical tipi for face-painting, and led the dancing outside this tipi, aided by his singers.

Soon he had organized the dancing more ritually. He selected seven singers, after the pattern initiated by Sitting-Bull among the Caddo and Wichita, and these became a fixed organization for South Band Ghost Dancing. There is some disagreement among

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contemporary Pawnee informants as to who the originals singers were. According to Joseph Carrion, they were, in the order of their selection and importance, Whitehorse (Pitahawirat[a]), Sam Cover (Skiri), Ezra Tilden (Skiri), Tom Yellowhorse (Skiri), Henry Shooter (Kitkahaxki[x]), Brigham Young (Tcawi), and Jim Keys (Skiri). In addition, however, Carrion corrects himself by agreeing with other informants that Joseph Long was the first of these "crows" selected. Mark Evarts believes that all the original singers belonged to the South Bands, and claims that the first four, after White himself, were Joseph Long, Rubin Wilson, Lester Pratt and White Elk, none of whom are Skiri. The presence of Skiri men in the group of main singers should however be anticipated because all the bands joined in the Ghost Dance under White's leadership. Also, when the Skiri later organized and led their own Ghost Dancing, the singers who were selected by the Skiri to take charge were men who knew the songs because of their earlier participation in the South Band Ghost Dancing, hence some Skiris must have belonged to the original group of singers. The men actually selected to form the organizations of the Seven Eagles and Seven Crows (see below) included several who are mentioned in this list of Carrion's. Those whom Knifechief and Mrs. Washington selected were chosen because they knew the songs.

In addition to face paintings, the early Ghost Dance forms included the use of feathers as hair ornaments. Two types were prominent, eagle feathers and crow feathers. These birds were used because of a definite symbolism which attached to them. Both birds were conceived to fly high and far, and to see and know many things. The Pawnee have always thought of the crow as a bird which finds what it seeks. Hence the crow can help people find what is lost lost beliefs, lost ways of life

In trance visions of the Ghost Dance, the visionary usually found himself associated either with the eagle or the crow, and thereafter wore the feather of one or the other. White wore eagle feathers, and when he constituted the seven men as the official singers, he gave them special crow feathers to wear. White did not himself lead the singing after this, but acted as general director, dancing in the center of the circle and putting subjects into trances.

A story is told of how White and Joseph Long were put to a test in early Ghost Dance days. There was a woman who went to Camp Creek. On the way she lost a strap with which she was going to bind up a load of wood. She wanted to find out if it was true that crows could find things, so she went to the tipi of the leaders and told them about her lost strap. Frank White said, "All right, sit

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668 796 825 down." Joseph Long had crow feathers. He put them on his head. Then he got up like a crow, and danced around the tipi. Imitating the crow, he danced his way outside and went along the path by which the woman had gone through the timber, and found the strap. He picked it up and brought it back into the tipi, and the woman took her strap.

The relation of this crow-concept to the Ghost Dancing is direct. The crow feather (as also the eagle) is one of the objects used by leaders, as they dance inside the circle, for hypnotizing subjects. It is moved back and forth directly before the eyes of the subject. It helps the dancer to fall into a trance, and this means that it helps the subject to see or find his lost relatives. In the trance-vision itself the bird may guide the visionary to his dear ones. In the same way the old Indian customs, the dances, the songs, the rituals, are found among the deceased people, or recovered in trance visions which are induced in part through the instrumentality of the birds.

In this early use of eagle and crow, those who learned about one or the other bird wore a feather of that bird. There was no organization or orientation of these except for White's seven crow singers. But there came to be felt an opposition between crow and eagle, analogous to the actions of the birds themselves, and this was carried over into the sides of the hand game arrangements. The opposition involved the question of which was abler or luckier in finding things.

668 796 [346] [554] [778] [276] For the Ghost Dance, White arranged to have a large cleared dancing ground. West of this was set up a special tipi. Herein White gathered the people, particularly the leaders. Those who gathered inside the tent were only men. The old men sat near the eastern entranceway on both sides, with the chiefs next to them to the west, and then the braves[1]; while other men present sat about anywhere. White himself would sit with his seven crow leaders at the west facing east. The only sacred objects kept on a covering at the western altar-place were the feathers and paints of the leaders, and several pipes (two or four). Two men were selected by White and the chiefs to act as tarutsius ("fire-tenders") and at the same time as policemen. They carried long sticks to whip the dogs with, driving them away from the dance ground while the dancing went on. They also controlled the dancers. After all the men had gathered, a smoke offering initiated the performance. White gave pipes to two or four chiefs and told them step by step what to do. The performance could begin either in the

[1] These are generic Pawnee patterns.

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late afternoon or in the morning, and the smoke offering differed according to which time of day it was. 668 776

In the arrangement for the time near sundown, the two chiefs carrying the pipes lead the way out of the tipi and all the others follow. Outside, the chiefs stand at the east of the clearing, facing west. Behind them the men form a long flat arc facing west, with White and his seven leaders in the center. The announcer cries out to the people at large that the singing will commence as soon as the smoking is over. 276 [203]

(First Phase[1]) Each of the two chiefs holds the pipe slantwise toward the west, offering it, not by holding it aloft, but by holding it just in front of him. Both proceed simultaneously. After offering the pipe west, each walks clockwise around the clearing, carrying the pipe, and after reaching the same point at the east, stops there, offers a pinch of tobacco upward to heaven, and one westward, placing each on the ground. (Lighting the Pipe) Then each again makes a clockwise circuit, stopping at a point east of northeast, where squatting with the pipe in mouth and its bowl toward the east the pipe is lit by means of a brand which is brought forward by anyone for this purpose. (Second Phase; first mode) Each arises, puffing the pipe, and returns to the east, where facing west, he puffs four times upward to heaven and four times to the west. (Second Phase; third mode) then carries the pipe through a clockwise circuit and takes it to whoever is standing at the extreme northern end of the arc-like row of men. Standing in front of this man the smoker puts the pipe to the man's lips without releasing the bowl. Then the smoker proceeds in turn to allow each man to puff the pipe, moving from north to south down the arc of men. (Third Phase) After all in the line have puffed, the smoker takes the pipe and carries it through a clockwise circuit, coming to the east of the clearing in front of the line of men. Here he faces west, loosens the ashes in the pipe-bowl with a tamper, offering ashes once upward to heaven, then emptying some, and again to the west, emptying the rest of the bowl contents on the ground before him. (Fourth Phase) Holding the empty pipe in his left hand, the smoker touches the right hand to the ashes on the ground, then runs the right hand up the pipe from bowl to mouthpiece while the stem is directed heavenward. He repeats this motion with the left hand, and again with the right and the left, making four motions. Then the smoker makes four similar motions while he directs the pipe toward the west. (Self-Blessing) Holding the pipe, 668 776 782 276

[1] Parenthetical divisions into phases, etc. refer to the analysis of the smoke offering in Chapter 8, see especially pp. 186—207.

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668 782 796 276 mouthpiece upward and bowl inward toward the body, he takes it in his left hand and runs his right hand up it from bowl to mouthpiece, opening the palm upward and outward toward heaven, then places the hand on the right side of his head and runs his palm down the head and side and leg to the instep which is pressed against the ground. This motion is then made with the left hand for the left side etc. while the right hand holds the pipe, and repeated once again with the right and once again with the left, making four motions. Then the smoker turns and returns the pipe to another chief in the line of men, who receives it with an *arm blessing*.[1] When the offerings have been completed, the pipes are taken inside the tipi and replaced on the altar-space at the west.

Now the arc-like line at the west closes around the clearing to form a circle of dancers, and women who have not up to this point [533 participated join the circle. They may, however, sing two songs 535] before forming a circle of dancers, and these are special ghost-dance songs which are never danced to. Then the dancing begins from the east, facing west, circling clockwise.

668 782 796 Before describing the movements of the dancers, attention must be called to the form of the smoke offering which would be made if the dance were to begin in the morning.

276 823 If the dancing is to begin with a smoke-offering in the morning the orientations for the smoke would be reversed. That is, the arc-line of leaders and men would form around White on the west, facing east; the smoker would begin all his circuits from the west, and the motions with the pipe which he made slantwise to the west, while he stood at the east side of the clearing and faced west, would become motions slantwise to the east which he would make standing at the west of the clearing and facing east. Finally the pipes would be handed along the line of leaders and men from south to north, instead of from north to south.

This shift of direction also changes the position for starting the dance, which is now at the point directly west, facing east. Here White stands and leads, and the circle proceeds clockwise. This is the generic position for beginning Ghost Dancing and singing, and even if the evening orientations are followed, only the first song begins at the east facing west; it then ends at the west, facing east, and all subsequent songs begin at the west.

It will be seen at once that the whole smoking ritual involves two basic orientation concepts: upward and either slantwise to the west or slantwise to the east. The upward offering is to Tirawahat[a] or the expanse of the heavens; the other is to the sun, according to

[1] See chapter 8, p. 209.

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his position in the morning or the evening, east or west. It follows, therefore, that the dancing begins facing the position of the sun. An adjustment is made so that up to about one o'clock by sun time, the orientation is slantwise to the east, and the dancing begins at the west; later in the afternoon, the evening orientation would be adopted.

The reference of the orientations is as follows: the offering to Tirawahat[a] must be part of any and every Pawnee smoke offering; that to the sun concerns the land of the dead: this is conceived to be in the western sky (see above, White's speech to the people on one late afternoon). In the land of the western sky, the deceased relatives of the living are dancing and singing while the dance goes on upon the earth. Also the dead are smoking to begin their dance, and they point their pipes toward their deceased relations: it is thus a mutual smoke, emphasizing their desire for reunion. The sun is conceived as a brother of the Morning Star, who, since his marriage with the Moon[1] (as the Morning Star's with the Evening Star), has his home or lodge in the west.[2] To this he returns every night. As he passes across the sky he sees all that goes on upon earth, and reports when he reaches his home in the evening. Thus, while the pipe is offered to the dead, it is directed toward the position of the sun, because what the people desire is that it should be reported to the dead that they are smoking to them.

In the vision which is the traditional origin of the smoke offering for Pawnee Ghost Dances,[3] "the Child of the Father in Heaven" is spoken of. This is a definite reference to Christ, who is conceived by the Pawnee as in charge of the region of the west where the dead people are. A similar reference is made in Mrs. Cover's dream of later Ghost Dance times (see below).

A fundamental way in which the Christ legends were fitted into Pawnee ideology is of interest and importance. The human sacrifice to the Morning Star, carried out as a ritual of the Morning Star bundle of the Skiri Pawnee, involves the sacrifice of a captive maiden to a power conceived as deity as a propitiatory offering on behalf of all Pawnee. That is, the maiden dies for the people. In the details a scaffold is involved, to which the maiden is bound by thongs.

The crucifixion of Christ becomes in Ghost Dance conceptions

[1] See Dorsey, Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee, p. 6.

[2] Note the relation to matrilocal residence; the western region in old cosmology is dominated by female powers. See also, my Levirate and Fraternal Polyandry among the Pawnee, Man. 1930, no. 78, p. 99.

[3] Murie, Societies, p. 64. Quoted above in first section of this chapter.

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668 identified with this background. The cross has always been used
796 by the Pawnee as a star symbol. On the ancient star-map of the
177 Pawnee, which was part of the Black Star bundle,[1] all the stars
182 are indicated by small crosses, rather than by dots or five-pointed figures. Hence to a Pawnee it is natural to conceive the cross-scaffold as involving a star-reference. To this scaffold Christ as a holy untainted man who has been honored (the maiden must be virginal and while she lives among the Pawnee is honored) is nailed, with his arms outstretched, as a sacrifice (from the Pawnee viewpoint). With both Christ's crucifixion and the Morning Star Sacrifice Ceremony oriented from the west, there comes about a broadening of the western orientation to include not only the Evening Star ideas of earlier times, but as well the conception of Christ as the Father and Shepherd of the people in the other world, the Chief in the beyond.

The meaning of the final self-blessing is simple and direct. One had offered tobacco and smoke to specific powers, and one concludes by reaffirming one's desire and hope of continued and long contact with the earth, Mother Earth. Thus one presses the body to the ground firmly as a request for long life.

Murie has pointed out that the Pawnee Ghost Dance ceremony as first organized by White, "seems to have been largely original with White and far from identical with the Ghost Dance as followed by neighboring tribes. It is clear, however, that White based his teachings upon the fundamental conceptions of the true Ghost Dance."[2] This reference is to the fact that in the vision pattern suggested by White there were seen by the visionary in order a stream, a tree (usually cedar), the Messiah or Christ himself, then a village of people, and upon approaching the village the people were seen to be dancing, playing games, etc. In addition White brought the undeveloped forms of the Wichita Ghost Dance; there were one day dances, or dances from early afternoon through to the next dawn. White had borrowed the concept of seven leaders for the dance from the Wichita organization as instituted by Sitting-Bull. Murie remarks further, "Some years after White's death some visiting Wichita brought in the regular ceremony. According to this there was no supreme leader, but all who had trances could teach and direct."[2]

The information I have is that Wichita were in part responsible for the changed conception of the dance, inasmuch as visitors from

[1] See Buckstaff, R. N., 279ff., which includes a reproduction of the map. The original is in the Field Museum of Natural History.

[2] Murie, Societies, p. 636.

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that tribe were present among the Pawnee when the Skiri Brotherhoods were conceived; the Wichita seem to have brought to the Pawnee the change to a Ghost Dance every six weeks for four nights, continuing the last night until the dawn of the fifth day. This they had adopted in accordance with the change among the Cheyenne, Arapaho, Caddo and Wichita, after the message from the Messiah was received. At the same time, a conflict of doctrine over the teachings of White, which culminated in a new conception of the significance of the Ghost Dance brought directly from the major Arapaho prophets by Pawnee delegations, seems to have contributed to the release of the Pawnee Ghost Dance from White's exclusive control. This doctrinal change occurred before Frank White's death in 1893.

In the early days after the dancing for the day was over, the people as a whole broke apart and went home, or went to their own tipis. But White, his seven co-leaders, and some of the chiefs would reenter the leading tipi. There they were served food. Before eating, a simple corn offering was made; corn was offered to Tirawahat[a] and placed on the ground; then motions of blessing were made with the horn spoon over the altar objects.

After this feast, someone would begin to talk about his trance experiences. He would tell what he saw, and then sing songs which he had learned in his trance. In this way songs were added to the repertoire, and gradually the Wichita and Arapaho songs became only a minor phase (save for the closing song) of the Pawnee Ghost Dance songs.

CONFLICT OF DOCTRINE; REORGANIZATION OF CEREMONY

According to the conception of the Ghost Dance which Frank White brought among the Pawnee, Frank White himself was the sole authentic prophet of the dance and doctrine, and it was necessary for all sanctions to come through Frank White as intermediary. Those who had visions in trances reported the content and character to White, and in terms of his interpretation and permission made use of the vision. Feathers to wear in the hair, paints for the face, special symbolisms of dress, and the like, were possible only with White's approval. If a dancer wished to use a face painting, in accordance with his trance experiences, he had first to go to White and pay him for the privilege, or in any case, to offer him gifts. Individuals who had learned about the Ghost Dance in visions, and felt authorized to put on a dance, could do so only after conferring with White. He would teach the visionary

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668 796 792 what to do, and received compensation for his instruction. Ordinarily his instruction seems to have amounted to interpretation, to a suggestion that the visionary do as all had seen White himself do, with some explanation of the details. White would also counsel the visionary to tell the people in general what he had seen and learned. But even in such a case, according to reports, when a dance was put on by another, White's seven crow singers had to be invited to lead the singing and dancing, whether it was held among the Skiri or South Bands.

Gifts and money were lavished upon White: a small face painting often earned him five dollars; feathers and sanctions of various kinds brought him other money. Many people were jealous, or resented White's attitude, called him a liar and began to disbelieve him and say he was deceiving the people.

At the same time, White's conduct was not exemplary. It must be remembered that priests, chiefs, medicine men, and in fact all individuals who had claims to sacred office or inspiration in connection with old Pawnee ways of life, lived up to accepted Pawnee ethical standards of conduct.

[276] As one informant describes White's behavior: "All this time White drank peyote, which made him wise. At the same time he used to drink whiskey. Whiskey and peyote do not mix, they cannot go together. That's what killed him.

"One time they were going to have a doctor dance north of town and when they were ready to begin, someone said, 'we can't start until the Messiah comes'—they considered White a great prophet, and called him Father and Messiah. Finally they saw him coming, hardly able to walk, supported on each side by a man holding his arm. Someone said, 'why, he's drunk,' but they whispered around, 'we can't say anything about it anyhow, because he's the Messiah.' They used to lavish gifts upon him, and finally they gave him the prettiest girl in the tribe to marry."

It was not long before revolt against White and his tactics took definite form. This reaction is in part to be explained by White's misbehavior, in part by jealousy of the way in which he was getting rich, and in part also by a sincere desire on the part of some to get more out of the dancing in a religious sense.

668 177 [607] According to Joseph Carrion, White and he had been friends for a long time; in fact Frank White at one time married Joe's sister-in-law, which in terms of Pawnee kinship put them on strong grounds of familiarity. Joe Carrion danced along with Frank White for almost a year. In Joe's own words, "Frank White told me that I was going where I could find out something for myself

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about the dance." Carrion, along with John Moses, Jim Keys, Brigham Young and Henry Minthorn went to see Sitting Bull the Arapaho. This was late in 1892, and they stayed there two months.

Carrion told Sitting Bull his story. Sitting Bull got a permit from his agent to Ghost Dance for two days. The Arapaho painted the Pawnee visitors with a rainbow around the forehead, a crow on the right cheek (because, says Carrion, "a crow finds everything he looks for, and when one is under the crow influence one can almost read minds"), and an eagle on the left cheek (which also represents a bird that flies high above everything, sees all and finds things).

That night in the Ghost Dancing among the Arapaho Joe Carrion was overcome and fell unconscious on his back. "I saw a big circle of people above." He awoke about two o'clock at night after lying there for five hours. When he woke up, he found there was a drum beside his head; an old man came over and asked him what he had seen. "Nothing," he said; he didn't want to tell. The old man told him, "you must tell." "I got up and said, 'I don't believe it.' Then he hit a gourd against the ground, and I fell over again. I got up and still said, 'I don't believe it.' so he hit the gourd on the ground and again I fell over. The way he could do this to me convinced me, and when I got up I believed it all. Then I told him what I had seen. He said it was true. The next day the Arapaho were told they would have to stop the Ghost Dancing.

"Two days afterward a boy came with hand game sticks, bringing one round to each tent. He told everybody that there was to be a big hand game at a certain place. It was to last four days, with a Squaw dance afterwards."

The man in charge of the hand game told Carrion to get certain things for himself. He told him that he must fast four days and nights. Carrion wore only a g-string, and painted his body yellow. He neither ate nor drank.

During the playing of the game, he often got thirsty and would be about to take a drink, when someone would remind him that he must not. He was chosen to serve the food, but he was not supposed to partake of it. He also would pass the bucket of water around. The smell of the food helped him, seemed to satisfy his hunger a little. The first night he felt weak and wanted to cry. "They told me to go ahead and cry, that this was the same as going to church."

At sunrise he stood outside the tent and prayed.

"The fourth day I went onto a hill. Behind me there was someone sitting in the grass. I looked at the sun and saw things

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796 668 787 177 in it. I saw the sun whirling round, and I saw crows flying around the sun, and flying over me. I saw an eagle feather in the whirling sun. Then I saw a black sun streaked with white inside coming towards me, and as it came I fell over. I stood up and saw a buffalo bull stick his head out of the sun. Just before sundown I saw Jesus standing in the west in the sun with one hand extended toward me.

"Someone came and told me I was wanted in the tent. There Sitting-Bull's nephew[1] spoke to me and told me I had made good. [788] He dropped water into my mouth four times with an eagle feather to cool my thick, dry tongue. Then he told me to take three swallows of water. He gave me sweet corn gruel to eat, and told me not to eat any more that night, but to eat a hearty breakfast in the morning."

At this time the old man questioned Carrion in detail about what he had seen, and Carrion told him about the circle of people, the birds and the man standing with his hand extended as if he were handing Carrion something. This, according to Carrion, the Arapaho interpreted as a gift of the hand game. The circle of people were the players, the man held in his hand the hand game sticks. The crow and eagle feathers belonged to the players, the clusters of feathers to the guessers.

Shortly after this the Pawnee came home. None of the others had visions among the Arapaho, says Carrion, because none of the others went through a four-day fast.

When Joe got home, crowds gathered around and wanted to know what he had found out, and if the Ghost Dance was true. Joe told the Pawnee that Frank White had taken something which did not belong to him and brought it over, and that White couldn't give them blessings and things to use, but that they had to get everything for themselves.

According to Carrion, this message which he brought home from the Arapaho introduced a different perspective into Pawnee Ghost Dancing. Before this people danced, but their experiences in the dancing did not give them sanction to carry out the dancing as leaders on their own account. White taught that only he could sanction them to do anything, and that they must pay him for the right. Now the people tried to find out things for themselves in trance-visions, and they did. It was after this that an extreme

[1] Sitting-Bull's nephew was the leader of this four day hand game among the Arapaho. Apparently he had derived it in trance visions experienced in the Arapaho Ghost-Dancing under the leadership of Sitting-Bull, and his visions had been sanctioned by the interpretations of Sitting-Bull.

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development of visions in which hand games and many similar sanctions were bestowed took place among the Pawnee. Carrion claims to have brought the inspiration for the hand game ceremonies from the Arapaho. With the liberation of the Pawnee Ghost Dance hand games began a rapid development (see part II).

While Carrion and others contend, as is usual in such cases among American Indian groups, that this difference of doctrine between White and the Arapaho indicated a conscious deception on the part of White, it is clear that no explanation of this kind need be invoked. Actually White's doctrine is much closer to generic Pawnee ideology, according to which the independent free vision of the individual is subordinated to a process of learning from one who knows a ritual, ceremony or performance. That is to say, in the older ancient Pawnee activities, the accepted method of obtaining participation was to receive the right or sanction to do so from those who were in charge of that activity, rather than directly from supernatural powers. In contrast to this, Carrion's doctrine looks a great deal like Plains patterns in general, which would be correct for Arapaho Ghost Dancing. It should be remembered in this connection, first, that White did not learn from Arapaho or other Plains tribes directly, but indirectly through the Wichita, whose ideas on these fundamental points are very close to Pawnee ideas, and second, that Carrion was not a Pawnee, although he lived most of his life among them and spoke a fluent Pawnee.

In a general way, also, the pattern of immediately telling the vision to the leaders and securing their interpretation is a non-Pawnee pattern. In older forms, among both Wichita and Pawnee, visions were kept a secret for long, and only in the course of one's life because of one's behavior did the general public of the tribe become aware that one had supernatural experience. In the Ghost Dance doctrine, the visions had to be told at once to show appreciation for receiving them, and one who didn't tell was not supposed to live long thereafter.

It is not possible to date accurately the time of the reorganization of the Pawnee Ghost Dance to accord with the regular four-day dance forms of the southern tribes. I believe Murie has dated it far too late. The organization of the Seven Brothers among the Skiri, which initiated the freeing of the Skiri Ghost Dancing from White's control, took place before White's death in 1893. The first forms of Skiri dancing followed White's forms. On his visit to the Arapaho Carrion had observed both Ghost Dances and hand games as four-day ceremonies. Whether this was responsible for a correction

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668 of Pawnee forms, or whether the Wichita taught the Pawnee
177 directly, the four-day ceremony was the formal Ghost Dance
114 among the Pawnee by 1895.

This regular Ghost Dance of the Pawnee was arranged to last
668 four days. It began the evening of one day, or the late afternoon.
184 Among the South Bands, all arose early in the morning, and faced
796 the sun for a brief period, (during which the smoke offering would
786 be made if the dance was to begin that day); but they did not dance. Then in the afternoon the people danced from three to midnight. The Skiri say that in their band there was a brief period of dancing each morning, as well as a longer period of dancing through the afternoon and evening. Both bands continued the fourth night until the dawn of the fifth day, bathed and dispersed.

As each song was sung, the circle of dancers, holding hands, moved clockwise through one complete circuit, returning to the original starting point. This is determined by the main singer's position: he begins at the west and finishes at the west (except for the first afternoon song, as above). During the dancing period of the day, the dancers could carry out as many songs as they wished; there was no special number. The singing was initiated and led by the seven crow-feathered singers, and the others joined in. While the dancing went on, some "hypnotizers" would dance inside the circle directly in front of individuals they wished to throw into a trance, using feathers or other objects to focus and fix the eyesight of the subject, thus transfixing them. Usually the subject fell when he or she was touched with the object used. When individuals fell into a trance, they were laid down and the others continued to dance.

668 In these trances, the visionaries followed a general pattern. In
787 one way or another the subject was guided to the other world,
796 where all the deceased Pawnee were living together in the old way. There some special phase of the life would imprint itself upon the subject's mind, the playing of games, the hunting of buffalo, war societies and dances, and the like. When the subject awoke, such aspects of the trance vision, along with the bird or messenger who had guided the individual to the beyond, would become the subjects of songs, costuming, and paraphernalia.

The closing song was carried out in a special way. It is the
668 special closing song of all Ghost Dances. As sung to conclude the
796 occasion, it is repeated six times as follows:

533 1. The leader remains stationary at the west facing east, and leads the singing of the song once; all the dancers keep their places.

2. The leader dances from west to north, singing the song, and

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stops at the north facing south; the rest of the circle dance through an equivalent part of the circuit.

3. The leader repeats the song, while the whole circle of dancers moves through another quadrant, the leader finishing at the east, facing west.

4. A third quadrant is similarly completed with the leader at the south facing north.

5. The fourth quadrant is completed when the leader is once more in his original position at the west facing east.

6. All now step back a few paces, widening the circle, and as they sing the circle closes in again. Throughout this singing the leader maintains his orientation at the west, and each dancer his or her relative position in the circle. Now, as the song finishes with the circle narrowed to its original dimensions, all break their handclasps, and shake off the blankets they wear, and the dance is over. The closing in of the circle during this last song signifies the coming together of the people, and the shaking out of the blankets expresses their desire to shake off them the bad ways, the new ways, the white man's ways.

The closing song is the Arapaho song as given by Mooney[1].

FIRST FORMS OF THE SKIRI GHOST DANCE

As we have seen, Frank White brought the Ghost Dance to the South Bands primarily, being himself a Kitkahaxki[s]. When a Skiri wished to hold a dance among the Skiri proper, he was in the same position as any individual among the South Bands who felt he had the right to do so. The Skiri had to get sanction from White, and to invite White and his leaders to come over to initiate and lead the dancing.

After the visit of the five Pawnee to Sitting-Bull, the Arapaho, a change came over the Pawnee attitude toward the general Ghost Dance doctrine. The whole religious movement was liberated from the domination of White. An individual's own conscience and experience was the individual's guide to what he could and could not do, to what sanctions he had obtained supernaturally. It became unnecessary to pay White for rights, and the only checks upon the number of prophets who began to appear among the Pawnee with messages from the deceased were the natural ones: the force of character and the temperament of the claimant; the

[1] Mooney, pp. 1011—1012, no. 73. Note that this song was used as the closing song after the return of the delegation of Southern Arapaho and Cheyenne in the fall of 1891.

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792 668 177 reputation and esteem in which he or she was held by the tribespeople, the abilities of the prophet as a leader, hypnotizer, organizer; and the experiences which were undergone by the layman under the leadership and influence of the prophet.

Those who are remembered as the chief visionaries of the period in which the Ghost-Dance was taken up by the Skiri are Mrs. Washington, Goodeagle and Mrs. Goodeagle, and Mrs. Cover. There were others, of course. Chiefly, Mrs. Washington was responsible for the inauguration of independent Skiri Ghost-Dances. She had many trance-visions, and often told very complex stories of the images and events which took place in them, so [787] complex in fact that there were Pawnee who doubted her, partly because of their own vision experiences, which seemed to them different in kind (psychologically); partly because of jealousy of the constantly increasing part she was playing in the tribal developments.

668 792 787 Carrion speaks of Mrs. Washington as a fraud. He says that she made up a lot of stuff, and was a false prophet trying to win the people's worship. His reasons for the attitude are interesting. He claims that in a vision (as he has experienced such) you see merely one simple image or thing, not a complex array; and that if you add to what you see, that is wrong. He contends that Mrs. Washington had trance-vision after trance-vision, and kept on learning details of performances in her visions, like a serial story. This is impossible, he says, because going back to those who give you things in visions and asking for more, is imposing on them; and it is for such conduct that people lose their lives.

In truth, Carrion's attitude indicates a temperamental difference between him and Mrs. Washington, as well as difference in the quality of his imagination. Carrion was not subject to trances often, Mrs. Washington was; his mind did not experience much detail in the few cases in which he had visions, while Mrs. Washington did. Obviously, the quality of the individual's mind will appear in the content and character of his visions as well as in his waking life, which is well illustrated by the vision experience of Mark Evarts in relation to the Ghost Dance, given below; Mark Evarts is a man whose mind is rich in content. But the native concept of the vision is more or less fixed and absolute, not one which accepts the relativity of the vision to the subject; hence, in terms of one visionary's experiences, those of another may often seem fraudulent.

184 668 796 The early independent Ghost Dances of the Skiri were carried out in terms of the usual forms and patterns of White's South Band Ghost Dancing. There was the same form of the circle, the same orientation of the official or sacred tent, and the same pattern of

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the smoke offering. Those who had crow or eagle feathers from the Ghost Dance wore them, and usually a group of seven singers led the singing. These were men who knew the Ghost Dance songs. But at first there was no official organization of singers, policemen and the like. Each occasion was organized in the usual patterns, according to immediate needs. The first phase of the organization of Skiri Ghost Dances concerns the official constitution of a fixed group of singers, the Seven Eagle Brothers.

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THE SEVEN EAGLE BROTHERS

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As with many cultural formalizations, the Seven Eagle Brothers were not institutionalized by revolutionary act or decree, but by gradual changes. There were first of all a great many people who considered themselves "eagles" and a great many who considered themselves "crows". Among the Skiri there were in each of these classes men who were gifted as singers and leaders, whose knowledge of the ways of the Ghost Dance had grown through continuous and regular experience and participation. Seven singers were the number usually employed, following White's pattern, and by habitual practice there was general acceptance of certain men as naturally more proficient for the function. In other words the men who were chosen as the official Seven Eagle Brothers were probably seven main singers for the Skiri by custom and practice before the group was institutionalized as a brotherhood.

Knifechief is recalled as the man who first expressed the general attitude toward these seven men. At a hand game he selected them formally to be the main singers. Knifechief went to the place each one occupied in the hand game circle and told him to rise and follow him. Then he led the selected man around a circuit of the fireplace, and seated him in his new position in a row on the south side toward the west. The seven in their order were, according to Ezra Tilden[1]: Sam Cover, Emmett Pierson, Walter Keys (the senior), Tom Yellowhorse, Ezra Tilden, Leadingfox, and Harry Sergeant. These seven, when they were seated in a row on the south side, led the singing for the hand game.

Mrs. Washington was officially responsible for the organization of these seven as the Seven Eagle Brothers of the Skiri Ghost Dance. The first occasion on which Mrs. Washington managed a large Ghost Dance among the Skiri was one which occurred when many Wichita had come to visit the Pawnee; and it said by some

[1] Ezra Tilden and Tom Yellowhorse are the only ones of the seven still living.

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668 796 533 that a suggestion of the Wichita was in part responsible for Mrs. Washington's determination to organize the Ghost-Dancing with regular singers while the Wichita were present.

Frank White died in 1893, and he is known to have been alive at the time Mrs. Washington inaugurated these developments, which places the time of the first Seven Eagle Brothers as sometime in late 1892 or early 1893.

668 792 796 787 As one informant describes Mrs. Washington's activities: "When they used to dance among the South Bands, all would go there, and while the dancing went on, old Mrs. Washington fell in a trance. She found out something about the Seven Brothers, but not everything right away. Afterwards, every time she fell she would see something about the Seven Brothers.[1] The spirit told her to go ahead and put up the Seven Brothers. She used to have her own cattle. Once when they came home from the dancing, she was told that when she got home she should put up the Seven Brothers at a dance. So she killed her own beef, and put up the dance, and they told her how to go, everything, the smoke and all."

Mrs. Washington put up a special feast. She asked the chiefs and these seven men to be present, as well as others. Each of the seven sat on the south side with the eagle feather given him by Knifechief stuck into the ground before him. Along the north side were congregated the "crow" people, including those who played as "crows" in the hand games, as well as the men who later were organized into the Seven Crows; while along the south side the "eagle" people sat. As yet, however, there was no "crow" organization: the "crows" were merely an amorphous group who played the hand game together, and who had this affiliation because of Ghost Dance experiences.

Mrs. Washington stood at the doorway of the tipi. Up to this time she had been learning. Now she spoke, "Now, I want to tell you what I have in mind. We are going to have a Ghost Dance. A spirit told me to do it. I am going to do it today. These Seven Brothers are going to take the lead for us, and we're going to call them Fathers. Now I want you chiefs to decide when we should begin the dance."

527 574 Then the chiefs talked together and decided and one announced, "Let us move the camp and all come together on the third day." This inaugural feast was not a ceremonial affair. After the decision of the chiefs was announced all those present partook of the feast provided by Mrs. Washington; this concluded the occasion

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[1] This "serial story" form of learning in visions is the sort of thing about Mrs. Washington's claims that Curtis resented; see above.

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for most. Some sat about a while longer, however, and sang Ghost Dance songs. 527 574

This introductory or inaugural feast at which a decision is made as to the time for a regular ceremony, is a fundamental Pawnee pattern. Such feasts precede the actual performance of doctor dances and ceremonies, society gatherings and performances, and many other ritual activities. In all such cases the pattern is the same. An individual man or woman "puts up" the feast for the gathering, and obtains as a result certain definite rights of proprietorship over the actual ceremonial occasion which is to follow[1]: This "host" invites leading men such as chiefs to be present, and requests selected ones to come to a decision as to the time for the performance itself. [424]

After this feast-gathering had broken up, the people got ready for the actual dance. Three days were allowed for moving into camp because the people lived scattered over a large area, and had to come in wagons and on horseback. They needed time to arrange things at home so they could be absent for more than a week, to pack, and to come. After all had gathered, at least three more days intervened before the dance proper began, so that the preparation of food, wood, and all other necessary things could be finished. Once it is begun, the dance must not be interrupted by such labors.

Mrs. Washington must be the first to move officially into camp. The chief who finally set the date for the gathering inquired if she was ready, and after she had said yes, and moved her tent, others would begin to follow her into the camping place.

For the dance the tipis and tents were set up in a half circle from south to north around the west. There was no special order of tipis. In the center a space thirty to forty feet in diameter was cleared of grass. Here the dancing began, but as more and more people joined in and the circle of dancers expanded, it would be pushed back beyond the edge of the cleared space onto the grass. The cleared space alone, however, was considered the sacred dancing ground. 361 796 668

One large tipi was set up west of the cleared ground at a distance of thirty feet, its doorway facing east. This was the tent used by the Seven Brothers, Mrs. Washington and other leaders. [346]

[1] Neither vision nor vow is essential in all cases to give an individual the right to "put up" a ritual affair. It is sufficient in most cases among the Pawnee that an individual wants to do so, either because he or she wants to secure thereby whatever benefits in health, luck and prosperity accrue from the performance (and particularly to the one who has "put it up") or because he or she wants to see the ritual demonstrated and learn something about it, or both.

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When each house-group had ready its quota of wood, meat and all else necessary, everything was in order and the dance could begin.

A sacred smoke offering opened the dance. If the people wished to begin dancing on an evening, the usual form was to hold the smoke ceremony, then dance a little, perhaps ten songs, and adjourn until morning. At the continuation of the dancing in the morning no smoke offering would be made; but if dancing were begun for the first time in the morning, a preliminary offering was necessary.

Inside the main tipi were the Seven Brothers seated on the south side. Four chiefs were selected to carry pipes and make a smoke offering. These came out of the tent leading the way, followed by the Seven Brothers, each wearing an eagle feather in his hair. They were directed by Knifechief. This was the first occasion on which the Skiri Ghost Dancers saw the Seven Eagle Brothers as an organization.

Outside, the arrangement in relation to the clearing followed the form already described for White's South Band Ghost-Dancing. The Seven Brothers were in the center of an arc-like line of men which stood at the east of the clearing facing west (for an evening smoke-offering). In front of this line stood the four chiefs with pipes, also facing west. While the Seven Brothers were in the center of the line, Sam Cover who was No. 1 Eagle Brother was not in the center of the seven, but at the south end of the seven; the others followed in the order given above, from south to north; this was the order of their selection. The significance of this arrangement is that now there was no main one who must be in the center—all were equal. In the row of men four chiefs took special places: two south of the Seven Brothers and two north.

Each of the four smokers had a special function. Their arrangement was from south to north as they faced west: Number 1 smoker at the south end of the row of four smoked to heaven; number 2 to the west (Christ); number 3 to the east (position of the rising sun); and number 4 at the north end of the row of four smokers, to the south, the noon sun.

The four smokers proceeded with their movements simultaneously. Number 1 took the filled pipe, (phase 1[1]) walked through a half circuit clockwise to the west where he faced east and offered a pinch of tobacco upward, placing it on the ground; (lighting the pipe) then he continued clockwise to the northeast, where he squatted toward the east, holding the pipe in his mouth. Here it was lit from a brand brought forward by another. (Phase 2; first

[1] See Chapter 8, pp. 186–207.

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mode) He rose puffing the pipe and walked clockwise around the clearing stopping again at the west facing east, where he offered four puffs upward to heaven, and four downward to the earth. (Phase 2; third mode) Then he walked clockwise until he neared the row of men on the east of the clearing, when he went to the man who was at the extreme northern end of the row and offered him the pipe to smoke. This he did without releasing the pipe, holding the bowl in his right hand, the offered pipestem in his left. The man accepting the pipe to smoke merely puts his two hands around the mouthpiece of the pipe and holds it to his lips, drawing a puff. Then the smoke-offerer moved along southward to the second man in the row to whom he offered the pipe to puff, and so on down the row to the extreme south end of it. (Phase 3) The smoker then made a half-circuit clockwise to the west of the clearing, where he tamped the ashes loose (the pipe was now out) and offered ashes twice upward to heaven, emptying some each time on the ground, and again offered some ashes twice downward to the earth, finally depositing the last of the ashes from the bowl on the ground. (Phase 4) Now as he stood at the west, he held the empty pipe with the mouthpiece pointing upward, touched the ashes on the ground with his right hand, and ran his right hand up the pipe, from bowl to mouthpiece, opening his palm upward and outward toward heaven; he repeated this action with his left hand, holding the pipe in the same position with his right, then repeated it once more with his right hand and once more with his left, making four motions upward to heaven. Then he pointed the mouthpiece of the pipe slightly slantwise downward toward the earth, and made four similar motions toward the earth, each time touching the ashes on the ground before running his hand along the pipestem. He had now finished the smoke offering. (Self-Blessing; return of pipe) He walked with the pipe around the clearing clockwise until he reached a point just in front of the chief at the left (south) of Sam Cover, the Number 1 Brother. He stood in front of this chief, and a little to the south, faced the chief, and made the motions of *self blessing*.[1]

Number 2 smoker (Phase 1) meanwhile made a half-circuit clockwise until he reached the west, where he faced *west*, offered tobacco slantwise to the west, and downward to the ground, placing a pinch from the pipe-bowl each time on the ground, (lighting the pipe) came clockwise to the position at the northeast where the pipe is lit, (phase 2: first mode) continued clockwise until he again reached the west, where facing west he then smoked four puffs slantwise to the west and four downward to the ground. (Phase 2: second

[1] See chapter 8, pp. 207—209.

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mode) Then he walked clockwise until he came to the row of men east of the clearing; he offered the lit pipe to the man at the extreme northern end of the row, and to each man in the row southward until he reached the man at the extreme south end of the row. (Phase 3) Then he took the pipe, which was out, clockwise to the west of the clearing, where facing west he offered ashes twice slantwise to the west, and twice to the earth. (Phase 4) He then made four hand-motions to the west and four to the earth, (self-blessing and return of pipe) came clockwise around the clearing until he stood in front of the chief at the right (north) of Harry Sergeant, number seven of the Seven Brothers; here he made the motions of self-blessing, and then returned the empty pipe to this chief, who received it with a blessing.

Number three smoker followed an analogous procedure. The unique character of his smoke appears in the following: the position at which he stopped to make offerings of tobacco (phase 1), offerings of smoke (phase 2: first mode), offerings of ashes (phase 3), and motions of blessing (phase 4), was at the *east* of the clearing, facing *east;* he there held the pipe slantwise to the east, and slantwise downward to the ground, and made offerings to the position of the rising sun and to the earth; he offered his pipe down the row of men from north to south as the others had done. He made the motions of self-blessing in front of the chief to the left (south) of the chief to whom the Number 1 smoker returned the number 1 pipe (that is, the second man to the left or south of Sam Cover, the number 1 Brother) and returned the pipe to this chief.

Number Four smoker proceeded analogously. The place of his offerings of tobacco, smoke, ashes and motions was at the *south* of the clearing, facing *south*. He returned the pipe to the chief right (north) of the chief to whom the number 2 smoker returned the number 2 pipe (the second man to the right or north of Harry Sergeant, the number seven Brother).

In carrying out these simultaneous offerings there was no collision of the smokers: similar actions, such as offering the pipes to the row of men, were done in the order of the smokers. Before the number one smoker returned to make his self-blessing and give the pipe back to the chief, the number four smoker had completed his offering of the pipe to the men in the line.

After the smokers had all finished, they returned to their places in front of the row of men. Each pipe was now returned to the man who had made a smoke offering with it, and as Sam Cover began to sing a Ghost Dance song, these smokers took the pipes back into the tipi. Inside this main tipi or sacred tent, a covering had been

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spread at the sacred altar place at the west, and on this the pipes were laid, mouthpiece to the east. There was nothing else on the altar place. There was an alternative to replacing the pipes on the altar inside the tipi. The four men who smoked could stand at the east of the clearing holding pipes with their arms folded, while the singing and Ghost Dancing went on. These four men did not participate in the dancing.

If the smoke was in the morning, the row of men would be at the west facing east, all the smokers would start their circuits from the west, and would offer the pipe down the line from south to north, but the orientation of positions at which each smoker made his offerings of tobacco, smoke, ashes, and motions would be identical with what has been described.

The differences between this four-fold smoke offering and that described for the South Bands above, are differences of complexity. These were based on Mrs. Washington's visions; it was her smoke-offering. The essential concepts, however, remain the same: upward for heaven, downward for the earth, westward for sunset and Christ, and two positions for the sun: eastward for the rising sun, south for noon sun. Of these heaven and earth orientations are generic for all Pawnee smoke-offerings, and the strict theory of Pawnee theologians is that they must be included in any smoke offering.[1] The offerings to Christ and the sun are two aspects of the same intention, since the sun is a messenger who carries the news of what goes on among the people on earth to those in the western land of the dead. The sun at noon is supposed to be in position to see clearly what is happening below, and to hear what is said to him.

The additional complexity of the smoke offering is particularly interesting because it is symptomatic of a tendency of Skiri religion in general as opposed to South Band religion. In other aspects of Pawnee ritualism and ceremony, while certain basic concepts of the religion are the same for Skiri and the South Bands, an enormous multiplication of specific interrelations has added great complexity to the Skiri forms. The great number of Skiri Pawnee bundles is probably a result of this tendency: Continuous differentiation of function has resulted in a subdivision of bundle powers, and the development of a specific bundle for a specific power. Among the

[1] So fundamental is this minimum of smoke offerings: upward to heaven and downward to earth, that Mark Evarts today begins to smoke a cigarette by making one puff upward and one downward, and finishes his smoke by flicking a bit of ash off as he makes a motion upward, and then another bit of ash off as he makes a motion downward before he puts the cigarette out.

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South Bands there are ancient bundles which each possess a group of functions that among the Skiri are differentiated and associated with separate bundles.

After the smoke offering, Sam Cover led the Seven Brothers in singing one or two Ghost Dance songs, without any dancing. Then the line closed around the clearing to form a circle of dancers, women came to join in, and the regular dancing began. Usually on a first evening of Ghost Dancing, only ten or twenty songs were sung. After the closing song, the general public would break up, each group of people returning to the family tipi. The Seven Brothers, the four chiefs who smoked, other chiefs, Mrs. Goodeagle, Mrs. Cover, Mrs. Washington, and some individuals who were special leaders, gathered in the main tipi of the dance. Here two old men acted as tarutsius, fire-tenders and servers. Food was brought in and set out in buckets at the east of the tipi near the door. Sam Cover then made an offering with corn before the group ate. It was a simple offering: He took some of the corn in his hands, stood behind the collected food and made inclusive arm motions (to indicate that this food was offered on behalf of all the food being partaken of), then came clockwise to the west of the fireplace where he raised the corn aloft to heaven and then placed it on the ground before him. He pressed it into the ground, rubbed his hands together and made four motions upward to heaven with both hands, touching his fingers to the corn on the ground before each motion. Then he made four similar motions towards the earth; blessed himself, walked through a circuit to his own place on the south, and sat down. All present said "Nawa" and then the food was served. The tarutsius must serve the food in a special order: first the chiefs at the west (the four smokers), then the seven brothers on the south, then old men who are seated on both sides of the entrance-way at the east, then all others present, serving them from west to east down both sides of the tipi.[1]

At this gathering the order and time of the events of the next morning were announced.

The next morning dancing began before sunrise. Two or three of the Seven Brothers went out onto the dance grounds, stood at the west facing east, and sang several Ghost Dance songs. As the people awoke and heard these they came out hurriedly to join in. As soon as four or five came, including women, all began to dance around clockwise. Gradually as the people gathered, the circle expanded. An old man walked around crying out to the people

[1] There is for every Pawnee ceremony an *order* in which those present are served; see chapter 8, pp. 220—229.

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to come and join the dancing. Some chiefs walked around the circle of dancers carrying pipes in their folded arms, but no smoke offering was made. Should the singers pause for a rest, pipes (but not these sacred pipes) were often smoked non-ceremonially.

After ten or twenty songs, the people ended the dancing with the finishing song, and returned to their tipis for breakfast. When they stopped the old man crier went through the camp calling out to the people to be ready to dance about one o'clock.

At one o'clock the dancers reassembled. The Seven Brothers took their places at the west side of the clearing, in order, each with special face-painting and wearing his eagle feather. Sam Cover led the singing, and the dancing began at the west, circling clockwise. Sam Cover and Emmet Pierson, the number 2 Brother, carried leather rattles which they shook in time to the dancing.

The dancing continued until about five in the afternoon, or just before sundown. The evening meal was prepared by women while the dancing went on, so that everything was ready when the finishing song concluded the dancing for the day.

After the dancing, the people gathered in the space between the cleared dance ground and the sacred tipi to the west of it. The Seven Brothers sat down on the east side of this space, facing west (this would of course be west of the cleared ground), while the chiefs sat on the west side facing east. In this way the chiefs and the seven brothers faced each other across this cleared space. The people gathered around the sides forming more or less of a circle. One chief was selected to talk. He said:

"We have all come together today to worship God. Now you must try to think what you are here for. Now the ground is open, there is nothing in the way (i. e. it is outdoors), God can look straight down upon us. Here's the sunlight over us, he's the one who knows all about it, and he knows also what you think about; you can't ever hide it. Now we are going to eat."

The main tarutsius now came forward. This chief gave the tarutsius a horn spoon which he had been holding while he spoke. In the center of the space around which the people had gathered, the food had been set out in buckets. The tarutsius received the spoon. (Filling the spoon[1]) He walked clockwise around, passing behind the food and around it, then with the spoon took some corn from the buckets, made a clockwise circuit and passed outside of the circle of people between the Seventh Brother (who is at the north end of the seated row of Seven Brothers) and the people at his right. (First Phase[1]) Outside the circle the tarutsius walked clock-

[1] See Chapter 8; the Food Offering and Service, pp. 220—228.

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668 796 782 wise around the sacred dance ground (not the space around which the people are gathered) which was now vacant, and came to the west of it where he stopped facing east. At this point his back was to the back of the Seven seated Brothers. Here he offered corn upward to heaven, then bent down and pushed some off the spoon onto the ground, then turned to the west to which he offered the spoon of corn slantwise, then pushed some more off onto the ground, and finally placed the rest on the ground as an offering to the earth. (Second phase; first mode[1]) He then put the spoon on the ground beside him, and touching and pressing the corn into the earth, made three sets of motions with his hands and arms: four upward to heaven, four westward, and four to the earth. (Self-blessing; return of spoon[1]) Then he picked up the spoon and went through the motions of the final self-blessing with it, pressing his feet firmly to the ground. With the spoon he turned and reentered the circle of people between the First Brother (who is at the south end of the row of seven seated brothers) and those at his left, walked through a half circuit clockwise until he faced the chiefs sitting at the west, and returned the spoon to the chief who had given it to him. All the people say, "Nawa."

668 796 [264 554] The food was then served. A number of men were selected to do the serving, some serving the chiefs, others the Seven Brothers, and still others the people in general. The chiefs must be served first, and then the Seven Brothers, and then the public at large. After all had eaten the dishes were put away. The people might come back and dance on the dance-ground until the sun had fully set. They stopped finally at full sundown. Many of the people did not camp on the grounds and had to go home for the night. Others had to look out for their horses.

In this way the people danced at the encampment for four days, and the last day they continued dancing all night. As individuals had trance visions, they would begin to wear different feathers and paints according to what they saw; and at later Ghost Dances would bring out these Ghost Dance things and use them.

[513] After the entire dance was over, the people generally slept a full day. Later they might decide to hold a hand game. In these early Ghost Dance times among the Skiri, a hand game could only be held after a full Ghost Dance had been carried out. Later hand games were interspersed in the Ghost Dancing.

Such were the ceremonial forms of the first Ghost Dancing among the Skiri proper.

792 668 796 787 Although Mrs. Washington was in this way responsible for the first organization of the Seven Brothers, Mrs. Goodeagle came to

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be known as the Mother of the Seven Brothers. This was because she clothed them according to directions which she received in a Ghost Dance vision.

Mrs. Goodeagle saw two eagles in her vision, a white one and a black one. The black eagle did not speak to her. The white eagle told her to put up a feast and dress the Seven Brothers. She did so. She gave each of the seven a special shirt, and a white sheet to wear. At the back of the head on the sheet two black ribbons were stitched, so that they hung down for about two feet in the back. All the seven were dressed alike.

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Then later someone else fell into a trance and told afterward that Mrs. Goodeagle was the Mother of the Seven Brothers, and that the people must call her that. So all the Skiri considered her the Mother of the Seven Brothers.

PERSONAL EXPERIENCES OF MARK EVARTS

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In 1897 or 1898, Mark Evarts came home.[1] He had been away a number of years, first at the Carlisle school, and then working as a harness maker in Harrisburg, Philadelphia and Newark. When he got to Oklahoma, the ghost dancing had been flourishing both among the South Bands and among the Skiri. The organization of the Seven Brothers among the Skiri was already existent. Mark was not unacquainted with the Ghost Dance. He had heard about it at the time it began to spread among the tribes. He had made a brief visit home at the height of the excitement. But the rest of his story after his arrival in Oklahoma is best told in Mark's own words:

"I told them I did not believe it. I said, 'You can't make me believe it.' Because I was educated and because the white man taught me that the Indians were superstitious. But the white man didn't look at himself and see how superstitious he was.

"One day the Pawnee were all going up to the Oto. After a lot of them had gone, a fellow named Sam Thomson said to me, 'Mark, let's go up to where the Oto are camped now.' We went north to a place about seven miles south of Red Rock. We got there in the evening. We looked into the timber, and there on the other side of the creek we saw the smoke from the encampment. We didn't know where to eat and spend the night, but we found two old ladies in one tipi and we went in there. We asked them if we could sleep there, and stay around during the camping. While I was there I heard someone say, 'this tipi is a special hand

[1] Mark had been home on a visit in 1893.

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159 game tipi'. Of course at that time I didn't care about that, but they talked about it.

"One morning I took my horse out and tied him where there was good grass. I looked about me, and looked up at the sky, and all at once felt as if I had swallowed something. I felt sorry for myself. I said, 'Here I am. I have no father, no mother, no home,' and then all at once something struck me. I thought that there was nothing good in this world. I let the horse go and didn't bother with him. On the north side there was a big hill. I climbed it and facing west I began to cry. I was sorry for myself. I was alone. Sorrow came all over me. All day I stayed there, until sundown, with nothing to eat or drink. About at nightfall I fell asleep there.

"The next morning I started to cry again, fasting there. I stayed there about three days and nights with nothing to eat and drink, but at the same time I never felt hungry. On the fourth day, in the morning, I felt like sleeping. Everyone in the camp knew I was up there. I went to lie down with my head on my hands.

151 "Just after I went to sleep I heard someone call me. He said,
167 'Now look at the south,' and not very far off I saw a badger. He said, 'Now if you want to do that, take the citizen's clothes off. You have to have different clothes.' While I looked at him, it was as if I took my clothes off and put them in a hole in the ground. And someone said, 'now put your Indian clothes on and then you do that.' Just as I heard that I awoke, and again I began to cry. About noon I felt as if I must sleep again. I could hardly stand up. I went to lie down on my back, with my head towards the east. All at once I fell asleep. I saw someone standing way up above me in the sky, and I was with him. He faced the north, and I stood at his left side. He said, 'now look way down there. Here you are, and there you are lying, down there.' I looked down and saw myself lying there with my mouth open. Near my head there was some bird. The bird walked around close to my head, bobbing its tail up and down. It had a white feather at each side of its tail. Finally I saw it go right into my mouth. I lay there like a log. I could see it go down inside, and could tell when it got down to the stomach. This one told me, 'go down and kick your feet'. I kicked my feet, and I woke up. Then I began to cry again. As the sun went down, I found my eyes were very tired. When the sun was pretty near down I was looking west. I could see the sun whirl around and around,[1] and once in a while white spots came off it as it whirled, and then green. Then it seemed to be coming toward me, then it seemed to be going away again. At half sunset, over the grass you

[1] Mark's gesture at this point indicated a clockwise motion.

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could see the shadows coming. Some one said to me, 'now right there, you see the sun there. Right there, that's what's going to hurt you, the shadow of the grass.' The shadows began to twist over like fishhooks, and were sharp. 'That's the people's talk. They'll use bad words on you, and tell you you're crazy and call you names. Let them talk all they want to, don't mind them. It isn't yours, it's mine. When they curse you, they curse me.'

"Just before it got dark, as I was standing and crying, I looked east, and right there in the bottom I saw an owl fly up along the grass, with white on each side of the tail. He flew around and around as it got dark, and finally into a hollow a short distance off. As he disappeared into the darkness of the hollow, I heard three doctors singing. Each one had a gourd rattle. They were coming up toward me. There was no one there I could see, but still I heard them coming toward me as it grew darker. I was looking in the other direction, but my mind was behind me: I knew they were coming. When they were about halfway, they changed the song into a humming, saying, 'I'll kill you. H-hm, h-hm, h-hm, I'll kill you.' They had something to hit the ground with. I made up my mind that I didn't care if they killed me. Let them. I wasn't afraid. I was a man.

"I used to think I was a brave man at that time, but I wasn't either. I found out that time. All at once it came into my mind that it was the scalped man coming. I looked out of the corner of my eye and could see him coming close. I looked around and could see he had a club he was raising over my head to strike me and kill me. I thought, 'let him go ahead'. I was looking upward, and it felt as if something was taken out of my mouth, and another thing put in. The brave one was taken out, and the coward put in. Then I ran off.

"That night these men were after me all night. They chased me around. They chased me pretty near to Ponca City. I couldn't get back to the camp, because they would turn and bar my way. Just about at the time the moon came up, they changed into the night crow. It came close to me calling 'ka, ka, ka,' and I had to run again. When I came to one place, there were seven horses, all white. He said, 'When you chase them round, the last one, if you get it, it's yours.' But I was tired. It was near morning, and I was very tired. I wanted to sleep. Just as I would be about to fall asleep, these horses would come up. It was the seven of the dipper that go around the North Star. Then morning came. I woke, and there was nothing wrong with me. I came home. When I went back to the place on the hill where I had been standing, my aunt was there, waiting to take me home.

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159 "After that I had to join the Ghost Dance. I used to paint my
[302] face with yellow and two blue streaks across each cheek.

"The reason this made me feel the Ghost Dance was true, was
[787] because it all began with my father and my mother, and they were both dead. That's why—because they were ghosts—that we call it the Ghost Dance, and that I had to go and join it. After this I believed it was all true."

After his vision, Mark Evarts was sick for some time, and did not begin to dance with the Ghost Dancers at once. He lived some time alone at Osage City.

Once he was on his way back to Pawnee when he met the Pawnee camped at Skeedee. Mark Rudder and others were there. They told him it was a good thing he had come, because they were going to make feathers for the Crows.

159 Mark Rudder organized and led a brief hand game that night.
524 People from the town heard about the game and came out, swelling the crowd. Rudder avoided the ceremonial complications of the game; it was played for enjoyment, and people who joined in sat as they pleased.

159 It was a full moonlit night. The game was played in a tent, and
787 after each game they went outside to dance. The moon was in the southeast. "Louis Behaile was touched, he got shaky, all at once he cried. He stood crying with his hands up toward the moon. After we came back inside the tent, he told it. 'I felt something in my mind, when we went out. It seemed I was going to see something. It's coming. We went out. When we were dancing around, all at once I looked up at the moon, and the moon looked down and saw me and laughed at me. That's why I cried.'"

159 At the hand game Rudder told all the men to come the next morning. "We've got something to do here. We've got the crow feathers and the cedar. We're going to make feathers for the Crows, for each one of you. And those who are outsiders, if you want me to make them for you, you come and I can do it. We're going to take a whole week to camp here. We're going to make these feathers."

The place at which they were meeting belonged to Jonathan Eustace. Jonathan told Mark Evarts to stay right at the camp, and unsaddle his horse. So Mark stayed there. At that time Mark Evarts had nothing to do, and usually lived at Rush Roberts' farm.

159 The next morning, the men came about ten o'clock to Rudder's
301 tent. His tent faced east. Inside, Rudder sat at the west, with a wooden cross set up behind him, and a small pile of crow feathers

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in front of him on a spread. Rudder set one man to work preparing cedar sticks, another to work preparing the horn ends of the feathers so they could be attached to the sticks with sinew. Still another was called and told to get sinew ready for use as thong. While the work proceeded the other men present told stories. One man said that he heard the crows calling "ka-ka-ka," and understood what they meant, so he came to the camp and there sure enough he found them all working on the crow feathers. The others laughed. The men preparing the things took their time. They were working at it all day. When dinner came in the evening, Mark Rudder had all the things wrapped up and put aside. The work was finished the next day. 159 301

Only wing and tail feathers of the crow were used. Four feathers, either from the wing or tail, were attached to the stick. Each man present was asked which kind of feathers he wanted put on his. The sinew was soaked in a bowl of water to soften it for use. The head end of the cedar stick was spread or thickened so that when the feathers were tied on they spread outward. Across the top of the sticks indentations were made in the form of a cross and when these crow sticks are used ceremonially and set in the ground, the ends of this cross must point in the cardinal directions. Red paint was put in the grooves of the cross. The feathers were bound onto the sticks while the sinew was wet, after which the sticks with the feathers attached were hung out in the wind to dry. The sinew tightened in drying. Each man who wanted a crow stick came forward and took one. [237] [283]

THE SEVEN CROWS AND AFTER

Mark Rudder was thus instrumental in developing the decoration and recognition of Crows. As yet, however, there was no official organization among the Crows, similar to the Seven Brothers of the Eagles. 668 796

Once when they were Ghost Dancing near the north round house, a young woman "got the shakes" and fell. When she recovered, she sat there crying. The old man crier went to her and blessed her. Then he asked her if she had something to say. She said, "Yes. When I fell, I went down a road leading west and saw a big hill across my way, and the road went up the hill. I went up that hill. When I got on top of the hill I looked down below on the other side. There was a big camp there. As I went down the hill I saw a man coming out of that camp. He met me before I got to the camp, and told me to stop, not to come any further. I 668 796 787

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668 stopped. He stood right there in the road. He said, 'Now my girl,
796 I came to meet you here. I'm the one who told you to come. We
787 are dancing over here. We know you folks are dancing over there and I want you to tell them to have Seven Brothers of the Crows just as well as the Eagles. Now when you go back you can tell them. Sometimes when the Seven Eagles are tired singing, you have to turn over the singing to the Crows to help out. That's why I say you should have Seven Crows. One more thing: When you have the Seven Eagles sing, you must put one woman between each two Eagle brothers, because when they sing the women must sing too. And you must do the same way with the Seven Crows.' I wanted to turn my head to look around, and as I did that, I woke up, and got up."

668 In accordance with this vision, Mark Rudder as the main Crow
796 selected six to join with him as the Seven Crows. Five of the Skiri selected were: John Moses, Jonathan Eustace, George Beaver, Yellowcalf, White Fox. Mark Evarts himself became one of the Seven Crows later, succeeding one man who died.[1]

After that when they held the Ghost Dancing, the Seven Eagles were put on one side (the south), the Seven Crows on the other side (the north). Still later, someone had a trance vision and saw that it should be done the same way in the hand games.

After the organization of the Seven Crows, Mrs. Cover was made the Mother of the Seven Crows by analogy with the Mother of the Seven Brothers organization. Mark Rudder selected her. She was not chosen as the result of a vision, or because she clothed the Crows.[2]

Thus the ground plan arrangements finally became among the Skiri: A central clearing for the dancing; a special Ghost Dance
[346] tipi due west of it; a sacred tipi south of the cleared ground for the Seven Eagle Brothers; and a sacred tipi north of the clearing for the Seven Crow Brothers. Certain alignments of the games were later determined by these orientations (see for example, Boy Chief's game).

[1] John Moses and Mark Evarts are the only ones still living.

[787] [2] A dream of Mrs. Cover's of this general period illustrates certain concepts of the Pawnee Ghost Dance:

"She dreamed she saw Christ standing at the west, facing east. Before him were many little children. At the extreme south was Emmet Pierson and other chiefs, at the extreme north were Mark Evarts, Eaglechief and others. A voice spoke, saying, 'As you see those standing, these are the ones to take care of Christ's children, his people.'"

[622 177] The Pawnee speak of a chief as a "father" to all his tribespeople, and here this idea has been interwoven with Christian beliefs.

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The smoke offering of the Skiri Ghost-Dance was not altered by this new organization. Only the Seven Eagle Brothers participated directly. The Seven Crows organization was an alternative one, to assist in the singing. After a day of Ghost Dancing, Sam Cover, the leader of the Seven Eagles, might officially turn over to the Seven Crows the singing and leadership of the dancing for the following day. With the Crows leading, the formal positions for beginning and ending the songs and dancing remained the same.

Every day after the dancing, the people gathered outside for the formal food offering and blessing before eating (see above). The chiefs talked. The arrangement outside was the same as that previously described, except that now instead of the Seven Eagle Brothers on the east facing west, the two organizations were seated together, the Seven Eagles south of the mid-point, the Seven Crows just north of it, making a row of fourteen seated side by side.

After the organization of the Seven Crows, the form of Skiri Ghost-Dancing passed through only minor alterations; so far as memory of informants goes, it remained constant—constant at least while the Ghost-Dancing was a serious belief and practise of the Pawnee.

With the alternative organizations of Seven Brothers and Seven Crows for the Ghost-Dance singing, in the event that both groups of singers were tired at the end of a day of dancing, and neither was anxious to take over the leadership the next morning, a custom of playing a hand game to decide who would carry the burden the next day tended to develop. In the central leading tent in the evening, the Ghost Dance leaders and the two organizations ate together, with the Seven Crows on the north side, the Seven Eagles on the south. Here in the talk which accompanied the meal, the members of the two brotherhoods might challenge each other to play a hand game that night. The losers would get up early and begin the dancing; the winners could sleep late.

Each formal occasion of four-days' Ghost-Dancing was in general charge of one man, and was "put up" in the main by one woman. After a woman had offered to put the dance up, the chiefs gathered and selected one man to be in charge. This man's job was to handle all matters which came up during the entire period of dancing, a hard task and a great risk, because whatever happened while the dance was in progress was credited to the one in charge for blame or praise. If there was good luck, people spoke well of him; and if there was bad luck, people agreed it was his fault.[1]

[1] Such responsibility of the leader is true for all Pawnee ceremonial venture. The method of having someone, usually a woman "put up" the

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668 Mark Evarts led several times, and says that whenever he had
796 the lead he had good luck. One time a baby was born while the
777 dance was in progress—that was good luck. Tobacco was being ceremonially prepared to be handed to Mark for making a smoke offering. While they were praying that good luck might go with
[276 782] the tobacco, a grandchild of Linford Smith's was born. So all present thanked God, and hoped it would be that way throughout the dancing.

[184] While these developments were taking place among the Skiri, the Ghost Dancing of the South Bands continued to follow the formal arrangements which had been instituted by Frank White. As members of the organization of seven singers which had been developed by White died, new members were selected to take their places. The smoke offering was not altered.

668 Murie, in discussing Pawnee ceremonial Ghost Dance, forms,
796 states[1]:

[484] "In 1904 three Pawnee went to Walker Lake, Nevada, to take instructions of Jack Wilson, still the recognized leader. Here they
[346] learned what is now regarded as the correct ritual for the ceremonies. According to this formula, a special painted tipi is set up near the center of the camp as the temple... The modern Ghost Dance camp is pitched in a circle and the ceremonial tipi set off center toward the north or south side according to the place of the host..."

The arrangement of which Murie speaks, in terms of which the leading tent was on the north or south according to the place of the host, refers to Ghost Dance hand games, rather than Ghost Dances proper; for in the hand games, as will be described below, one side (either north or south, viz., either Crow or Eagle) is "host" and in charge.

GHOST DANCE SONGS[2]

796 The songs "dreamed" or secured in visions in the Ghost Dance
533 ranged over all the subjects that could naturally come to mind. Some emphasized aspects of the Ghost Dance doctrine, viz., that in the other world all was as in former days, that the Christ was

affair, viz., supply the bulk of the meat and other food necessary, as well as the method of selecting one man to be in charge, are general Pawnee patterns.

[1] Murie, p. 630.

[2] The song texts of this section have been retranscribed and retranslated from the Densmore versions by Dr. Gene Weltfish.

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coming, that there would be a reunion with the departed, that a great change was coming. Others embodied the memory of societies of former days, the gift of paraphernalia, or of hand games. No attempt has been made to transcribe songs for this study; a few representative songs are available from Densmore and Murie.

Frank White's first Ghost Dance song has already been given. The free rendering:

"The place whence you come
Now I am longing for.

"The place whence you come
Now I am ever-mindful of."

refers to the land of the departed from which a messenger came in White's vision.

A song of Roaming Chief recorded by Densmore from the version of Effie Blanc, reports a Ghost Dance trance vision of Roaming Chief.[1] The reference is to the coming of Christ, and the feeling among the people that all was to be well.

ra a (hi i i a) *he i ra a (hi i i a)*
he comes yonder he comes!

he ra (i hi i a) *he ra (a e ee)*
he comes! he comes!

heru (u u) *kitu* *tixwakiá·hu*
then all they are saying

rihi *weturahe*
here now it is good!

ra a (hi i) *i ra a (hi i i a)*
he comes yonder he comes

hera (i) *hera* *hera*
he comes! he comes! he comes!

He is coming, yonder he is coming
He is coming! He is coming!
And so all the people say
All is well here now.
He is coming, yonder he is coming
He is coming! He is coming! He is coming!

[1] Densmore, Pawnee Music, song no. 66, p. 92. "A Ghost Dance was sometimes held especially for Roaming Chief and he cried as he sang this

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796 533 539 A song recorded by Effie Blane[1] reports a vision of a boy crying for his mother, and asking from the depths of his sorrow, if his mother is really to return to him:

piraski *rawakakawitiku*
boy crying sits down
piraski *rawakakawitiku*
atira *kawe rą̀ą·ku*[2] *atira kawe rą̀ą·ku*
mother is she coming now, mother is she coming now?
tiratpą́ri *tiratpą́ri*
here I roam here I roam.

A little boy is sitting crying,
A little boy is sitting crying,
"Is mother coming now?
Is mother coming now?
Here I wander about, here I wander about."

Two songs recorded by Effie Blane[3] refer to the Crow as the messenger from the beyond. One, without Pawnee text, is given in free translation by Densmore as:

"The crow, we see his likeness moving inside the circle of dancers."

The other song is given in full:

ka·ka *tiṷa·ku* *ka·ka* *tiṷa·ku*
Crow he says crow he says,
wétatu·ta *(tu)* *tátu·ta*
now I do I do
atira *ṷira·a* *atira* *ṷira·a*
Mother whence she comes Mother whence she comes
(Moon) (Moon)

The crow is calling, the crow is calling,
"Now I am active, I am active
In the place whence Mother Moon comes, in the place whence Mother Moon comes."

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song.' It was also customary to sing this song at a hand game." (p. 91). The song would not be sung to hand game play, but in the Ghost Dance intervals.

[114] [1] Densmore, p. 76, no. 47. The explanation which precedes this song in Densmore's account is misconceived, and may refer to another song; a piraski is a boy up to the age of puberty.

[2] This is not the interrogative used in ordinary speech or in text material. I am thus unable to control the form of the question grammatically, but since the substance of the song calls for an interrogative I leave it as it stands and have translated it in that way. The complex *we rą̀ą·ku* would be the declarative form, "now she is coming." G. Weltfish.

[3] Densmore, nos. 50, 51; pp. 79—80.

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The song embodies the relationship of the crow to the Moon from which the bird's power comes, and indicates also that the Moon is the night overseer of things on earth, reporting them in the beyond. The crow is telling the people on earth of the activities in the land of the departed.

The song was based on a Ghost Dance vision of Effie Blane herself. Used at a hand game it was probably not sung to the play of the game.

Several songs reflect the vision of old societies, and their subsequent revival (See Chapter III—Revivals of Societies).

A song recorded by Wichita Blane[1] reports a vision in which Christ gave the Young Dog Dance society pipe (probably) to the visionary:

we ra a (i ya)
now he comes

ha i ra a ha i ra a (hi a)
See! yonder he comes See! yonder he comes

ha i ra a ha i ra a (ho hi a)

he tiwerihaktsa
(Emphasis) here now it stick lies!

atias pirau kura (u)
father child his

kuraha·ku[x] tikuha·ku'
his own stick he to me stick gives

i ra a
Yonder he comes.

Now he is coming
Lo, yonder he is coming, yonder he is coming
Lo, yonder he is coming, yonder he is coming.
This stick that is lying here,
The son of the father
His own stick he gave to me.
Yonder he is coming.

A song recorded by Effie Blane belonged to Running Scout and referred (probably) to the revival of the Wolf Society. Of this song, Densmore writes: Running Scout "was very religious and remained in a Ghost Dance trance for several days. His friends

[1] Densmore, no. 59, p. 86.

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796
533 thought him unbalanced but when he awoke he told them that
539 he had been to the Messiah who told him to 'go to the village.'
[787] Following this instruction, he saw many men dancing. Some had
fox skins around their heads while others used fox skins in hypno-
[237] tizing their fellow dancers. For this reason Running Scout always
wore a fox skin in the Ghost Dance. The skin was not made into
[293] a cap but the head and tail were fastened together and hung at the
back of his neck in such a manner that the tail rested on his shoulder.
[198] He also gave the call of the fox while he was dancing."[1]

1— *ṭrihe we ṣarit*
so here now stop!
1— "
1— "

2— *kiwaku rirgraxra*
fox (es) they have them

1— *ṭrihe we ṣarat*
so here now stop!
1— "

Here now you must stop!
Here now you must stop!
Here now you must stop!
They are holding fox skins
Here now you must stop!
Here non you must stop!

Densmore in one case records a free translation of a song without text[2]:

"The yellow star has noticed me,
Furthermore it gave me a standing yellow feather.
That yellow star."

[787] The reference is apparently to one of the old star powers and reflects the gift of an ornament of "power" in a Ghost Dance vision.

[727] A song without texts used at victory dances was "'in the style of the Lance dance songs'... The words mean, 'They are coming yonder, the men who belong to the Lance Society (Tirupa)[3].'" The reference here is to the resurrection of the membership of the old Fighting Lance Society (tirupahe), and to the revival which took place in the Ghost Dance years.[4]

[1] Densmore, pp. 84—85, no. 58. [2] Densmore, p. 84, no. 57.
[3] Densmore, p. 68. [4] See Chapter III, Revivals of Societies, pp. 112—115.

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III.

CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE GHOST DANCE

In 1892, as we saw in Chapter I, the United States government program of assimilation had reduced the Pawnee to a cultural impasse. Their old life was gone, and nothing adequate had been given them in its place. The Ghost Dance doctrine which reached the tribe in 1892 brought hope into Pawnee life. It promised the coming of a new and restored Indian earth, on which the white man would be no more, on which the buffalo would roam again, and the Indian peoples live in peace and plenty. According to the prophecy of the doctrine the change was destined, and did not depend on the voluntary intervention of the Indian. Faith in the doctrine and message of the new religion was, however, an essential condition to participation in the benefits of the new order. The activities of the Ghost Dance were modes of converting the unbeliever, and of reinforcing the conviction of the faithful. The first tenet was to dance. The feet of the dancers pounding the earth was symptomatic of the rumblings of the earth which presaged the change. In the beyond, the message declared, they too were dancing, and to dance here in the same way was an augury of the coming reunion. A second tenet prescribed the casting aside of the white man's ways as an expression of faith. To put aside white clothing, white labor, and white customs, was in still another way to participate with the people dancing in the beyond, and to demonstrate concretely one's conviction that these things of the white man's were of the passing present, soon to be swept away. A third tenet concerned the visions and the seeking of them. These visions were moments of intercommunication between those here on earth and their deceased kinsmen in the beyond. To secure them was to prove one's strength of faith. In attaining them one saw the people in the other world alive and well and happy; one saw and foresaw the new earth that was to be. These visions reinforced the tenet which prescribed a casting aside of the white man's ways, for in the land of the departed the old ways of life went on still as they had in former years on earth. To do as one's kinsmen were

[p 105]

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668 787 796 doing in the beyond meant not alone to put aside the alien customs of European culture, but actively to take up again the native ways of the Indian. The Pawnee turned back to the past for values and satisfactions lacking in the present.

178 The revival of Pawnee culture which began to materialize in the years of the Ghost Dance went back for its material primarily to three sources in the old culture: the bundles and bundle rituals, the societies, and the games. The general attempt to resuscitate the aboriginal forms, supplemented and fortified by the inspirations and mandates of the visions, resulted in three types of cultural rebirth. The activities of old ceremony, performance and play were fostered; the paraphernalia were put in order, renewed, and recreated; and concepts from the old context were enshrined in symbols and facsimiles which were carried in the dance and integrated in new cultural forms.

BUNDLES AND BUNDLE RITUALS

778 796 178 The principal bundles of the Pawnee in aboriginal times were the sacred bundles,[1] often spoken of as village or band bundles, and the medicine men's bundles. The former were predominantly concerned with cosmological powers and references; the latter with the animate forms of the earth, the waters and the air (animals and trees, fish and water-creatures, birds). By 1892 sacred bundle [756] ritual demonstrations had practically ceased; of the medicine men's ceremonies, the great doctor performances of the fall had ceased in 1878, but the Doctor Dances of the spring and summer continued at irregular intervals, and such medicine men's ceremonies as the Buffalo Dance were also carried out on occasion, while the Bear Dance had died out. Resuscitation of the old bundle [764] rituals was the most difficult problem of revival and could not be fully met: a good part of the sacred rituals and paraphernalia had been buried in the grave with their final priests. There were two modes or types of occasion on which bundles were opened in aboriginal times: to demonstrate the ritual, and to renew or repair the bundle parts and contents. There is little evidence that the Pawnee succeeded in actively rehabilitating the ceremonies of the sacred bundles, but they did succeed in reconstructing the medicine men's

[1] I avoid any attempt to here catalog or describe the many bundles of the four Pawnee bands, which would of necessity be lengthy and for the most part irrelevant. The interested reader may consult Murie, Societies, pp. 549—556.

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Bear Dance, and a number of sacred bundles were opened and an attempt made to put them in physical order.

The bundles and bundle rituals were esoteric possessions and knowledge, controlled by individuals. As such their inheritance and transmission followed traditional modes, and according to the orthodox old Pawnee doctrine no revival of extinct forms was possible. The sanction of the Ghost Dance doctrines and visions was in definite conflict with old customs of transmission, and came to predominate.

In the traditional view, the knowledge and learning of an individual had to be handed down by actual instruction of the young. This was somewhat different for the two kinds of bundles, typified by the sacred bundles (with which the society bundles can be associated, as essentially derivative), and the medicine men's bundles. For the sacred bundle type the offices of ownership and priesthood were independent: A chief owned the bundle physically, and his wife took care of it. He did not necessarily know the ritual lore of the bundle. A priest controlled the ritual, demonstrated it on the proper occasions, and advised the owner of his bundle obligations. The physical bundle was ordinarily inherited directly in the male line. The ritual knowledge, however, was transmitted by the priest to his successor by means of instruction over many years. The priest usually taught a close relative (not necessarily in the male line exclusively) because of the desire to hand on his learning in his own family line. But lacking close kin of suitable temperament, the priest taught whom he pleased. For the medicine men's type of bundle, ownership and priesthood centered in the same individual. The doctor himself was owner of the physical bundle, and of its associated teachings, and officiated as his own demonstrating "priest" on ritual occasions. In the course of his life he taught a man to be his successor, and gradually turned over the ritual functions to him. The successor was usually a close relative, such as a "son" or "nephew", etc., but here too the medicine man was at liberty to instruct whom he would, and on occasion chose more distant relatives when near relations proved unwilling to attend seriously to the learning of the traditional material.

Ordinarily a man taught his successor largely by demonstration. That is, the apprentice took part in the actual demonstrations of the ritual (and the curing of the doctor) watching what went on. In the course of the procedure the master explained the detail. As the teacher found his pupil mastering phases of the activity, he turned over to the pupil such parts as were understood. In

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this way, as a rule, a man learned another's teachings in the course of many years and came to control *all* of it only if the teacher lived to be an old man. In fact the Pawnee conception was that as a man taught what he knew he gave up part of his life, and that when he had given over all his teachings, he would die. Hence the old and learned always held back something until they were ready to die. If a priest or medicine man died, what he had not taught his successor was lost. Usually when an old man knew he was on his deathbed he called his apprentice in and in dying whispers told him the essentials of what he had not as yet communicated. When upon death a medicine man's bundle was inherited only that part of the contents whose use and function were fully understood by the heir were retained: the rest was buried with the deceased medicine man. Because of the independence of owner and priest, a sacred bundle persisted in spite of the loss of part of its significance: the physical bundle survived, though it might be less and less understood with the passing generations.

Religion and ceremonialism in a primitive culture are maintained as oral tradition alone. There is always a gradual loss through cultural forgetting, and a somewhat compensatory gain through the development of new ramifications. The conditions of life of the Pawnee in the Nineteenth Century contributed to a rapid increase of the rate of cultural forgetting. This acceleration was in part due to the loss of function of the ceremonies and rituals, which made demonstrations more infrequent, and hence instruction rarer. At the same time, with loss of functional meaning there was lacking the incentive for the old men to teach and the young men to learn. But in addition, we must not overlook the increase of the death rate among the Pawnee. The learned died before their time; and those destined to carry on their teachings died at an early age. Death interfered abnormally with the traditional mode of handing on the knowledge of the ancients.

The traditional pattern of transmission involved the concept of private or personal ownership of ritual knowledge. What was lost through death was therefore lost beyond recovery. There was no sanction for carrying out any ritual, other than that the one who attempted it had learned about it from ritual predecessors.

The Ghost Dance doctrine supplemented by the Ghost Dance visions altered the general view. In a vision the subject would "see" some old way of life. He would "remember" it. His vision then became a command upon himself and others around him to carry out the old form. The non-esoteric phases of the aboriginal life could be readily revived, which in part explains the great renaissance

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of games and dances, and the special developments of the Ghost Dance hand games. But the esoteric activities were more difficult to bring back to life. When there were men alive who knew the way, the vision was a specific mandate upon them (often expressed in the vision) to renew the activity. Often, however, a ritual or ceremony was no longer officially in existence: those who had known and controlled it were long dead. Then many men who knew something of it would combine their resources, pooling their memories to revive the ceremony.

The vision mandate in these cases substituted for the old official transference of knowledge. In the Ghost Dance vision the subject "saw" the deceased ritual controller (the "ghost"). The deceased spoke to the visionary, and (in theory) told him to revive the old cultural form, and told him how to go about it. Such visions brought a new sanction into Pawnee life and thought. Where formerly it would have been sacrilege to have carried out a dance or ceremony to which one had not the right through learning and purchase, the trance vision now constituted a supernatural command that the performance be revived.

It was in this way that the Bear Dance, one of the major medicine men's ceremonies was reconstructed and revived. When the Bear Dance was studied by James Murie in the early years of this century, it was the revived form which was studied and recorded. The following account is quoted from Murie[1]:

"At the death of Bear Chief of the Pitahawirat[a], the main bearskin and other things belonging to the Bear Society were buried with him. He had not taught the secret ceremony to any one; so it was supposed that the Bear Society was lost. At a meeting of the medicine society when the ceremony had ended, a woman arose, her name Woman Yellow Corn, and said, "I had

[1] Murie, Ceremonies of the Pawnee. In press, Bureau of Ethnology. Murie was unaware of the nature of this whole procedure as a revival, which gives the naive form in which the revival methods are described considerable weight as substantiation of the interpretation of the writer, which is based on work with present-day informants.

The account is presented by Murie as the Skiri Bear Dance, but I have found on internal evidence, such as the affiliation of the owners of the revived ceremony, the choice of individuals for leaderships, the story of teaching associated with the ceremony, and the fact that the bears are "yellow bears", etc., that the form must be considered that of the Pitahawirat" band. Murie's confusion about the band affiliation was in part the result of the pooling of knowledge, which overrode band lines. Of interest is the fact that in Murie's account of the felling of the cedar tree, the tree is made to fall westward, a Ghost Dance orientation: in earlier times the tree would have to fall eastward.

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a vision. I saw Bear Chief wearing the bear robe over his shoulders and the bear claw neckpiece around his neck. He was painted with yellow earthen clay, and had black streaks from each eye down the face. He said, 'My sister, Father (bear) and Mother (cedar-tree) have not had any smoke for many years. We (dead people) are watching for our people to have the ceremony. The people think the ceremony is lost. It is not, for one of the Bear men who knows the ceremony is still with you. I ask that you tell the people so that they can have the ceremony, for it is time.' I woke up and the last few days have been crying to think that I should be the one to tell you. I have a cow which you can have so you can have the ceremony."[1]

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"The leaders of the Bear ceremony each in their turn arose, went to the woman and blessed her... They said, 'My sister, this is very hard. None of us know the ceremony, but Father (bear) and Mother (cedar-tree) will plan a way themselves so we can have the ceremony...

"Some days later the members of the Bear society met and compared their knowledge of the ceremony. When all had spoken a man named Big Star... questioned the others as to their knowledge of the ceremony. He found that none in the meeting knew the ceremony. So he said, 'Brothers, this is hard. You see I am paralyzed, and I could not sit and carry the ceremony out. If you will all agree I will try it. Before we do anything we must select men to be the leaders. You and I know that there are some men here who are descendants of deceased men who were leaders in the Bear Society...' So he selected... Little Warchief... Little Sun.... Good Buffalo..., and Roaming Chief..."

(These men were then ceremonially inducted into office. Big Star then seated himself with these leaders at the altar, and made arrangements to collect among the people the ceremonial utensils, etc. for a set of things needed to carry out the ceremony).

"When all the others had gone out, Big Star told the four men to watch as he carried on the ceremony, that he would carry on the ceremony for them. He also told that Tirawahat[a] had planned through the woman for them to have the ceremony, so he was willing to carry the ceremony on for them without pay; that in olden times men paid to learn the secrets of the Bear ceremony, especially in going after Mother Cedar-tree; that he himself did not purchase the right to carry the ceremony on, but that Bear Chief who was the last man to know the ceremony had given him the

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[1] Indicating that the one whose vision caused the revival felt obligated at the same time to put up the ceremony.

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right to sit near him and watch; that Bear Chief took pity on him and taught him the ceremony and songs without pay. He then told them to go to their homes, that on the morrow when they entered the lodge each one was to take his seat. They were then dismissed with the exception of Little Warchief.

"When they were alone Big Star questioned Little Warchief about the songs and asked if he knew them. Little Warchief said, 'Yes, I know the songs.' Big Star was glad of this for although he could carry on the ceremony, he was afraid that he would not be able to sing the cedar-tree songs."

(Later at the preliminary feast to set the date of the ceremony), "when all were in, Big Star said, 'You, who are sitting at the altar and those of you at the stations, old men and chiefs. Today we sit in this lodge as men of the Bear Society. We are gathered together here, through Woman Yellow Corn, who had a vision of one of our departed relatives, who asked that we have this ceremony, that Father and Mother might receive our smoke..."

The medicine men's activities which had not ceased, such as the Doctor Dances and the Buffalo Dance, took a new lease on life as a result of the Ghost Dance impetus. The people attended and participated enthusiastically, and young men began again to learn the doctors' ways.

It is probable that reconstructions of sacred bundle ceremonies were attempted, but we have unfortunately no record. The main effort of revival, as regards the sacred bundles, was directed toward bringing to the attention of the people the bundles still in the possession of the Pawnee, (viz., neither buried nor sold), and to open these in order to renew the contents. I do not know with how many bundles this was attempted. The procedure of renewal was also ritually and physically difficult. In the old days the main priests took charge, and the necessary materials were made available in advance. In Oklahoma neither priests nor materials were available. Mark Evarts described for me the events which took place in 1903 when an attempt was made to renew the tuhutsaku or Left-handed bundle. I quote a few passages:

Frank Leader was the main priest, assisted by Running Scout, Goodeagle, Knifechief (the elder), and John Box. When the bundle was lying open on the altar, Leader spoke:

"Now what you see here, it's a long time since we opened it. Now this here sweet grass," (picking it up), "it's been here a long time. That's what they used to light pipes many years ago. Now these things before me that I have, God put them before us. What

[1] Referring to the Ghost Dance prophecy of a coming change.

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178 you see here our old grandfathers had their hands on, but this old
778 woman," — referring to Gillingham's mother —, "when no one's
793 around she ought to untie it; bugs are spoiling some of these things. It isn't like it used to be a while back. We could untie the bundles every year, sometimes twice a year; now everything has kind of rotted. Now today we've untied it all. God himself looks down on this here. It is his will that things are changing on earth.[1] I don't know. I only have what I see here, but there used to be an old man, a priest, who sat here, and when he opened the bundle he would cry over it. I can't do anything. I have nothing to change these things. Now this bird where the head is coming off, I can't sew it with sinew; it will tear. It must be sewn with thread. The only way I have to do is to grease the things and make smoke. I can't go through it as they used to a long time ago."

Although the reconstruction of extinct ceremony, and the renewal of partially disintegrated bundles, proved extremely difficult, the attempt was made. At the same time the cosmological references and type paraphernalia of old bundles were recalled to serve as source material for conceptions and objects integrated in other cultural forms. Thus we find ideas from the old forms of ceremonialism, from the Evening Star bundle, the human sacrifice of the Morning Star bundle, and the Calumet ritual, interwoven with Ghost Dance thought in such developments as the Ghost Dance ceremonial forms and the Ghost Dance hand games; and replicas of old sacred objects appeared at hand game altars, symbolising the references of visions to the old bundles and ceremonies. (See Chapters II, VIII, IX, X, XI).

REVIVALS OF SOCIETIES

178 The old societies were a major type of revivals during the Ghost
595 Dance period. There is evidence for a revival in one form or another of the raris arusa (Horse Society), hatuxka ("Those coming behind"... Crow Lance Society), raris skirixki (Wolf Society), tirupahe (Fighting lances), asitsakahuru (Crazy Dog Dancers), raris kaka (Crow Society), pakspahuknasus (Roached Heads), asakipiriru (Young Dog Dancers), raris arika (Horn Society or Horn Dance), and pitararis iruska (the old War Dance)[1].

[1] I have limited myself in this discussion to the facts of revival; the society forms, ceremonial smoking, performances, etc., will be discussed elsewhere. For some description of the old form of these societies, see Murie, Pawnee Indian Societies, pp. 581, 570, 577, 576, 579, 581, 582, 616, 608. (Page references follow the order of the societies as listed above).

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These old societies were concerned primarily with war and hunting, and, becoming functionless, had practically ceased their activities by 1892. Each society was controlled by a bundle, from which the powers necessary to the activities of the members were derived, and which in turn derived its powers from greater sources in the major sacred bundles. A full and complete revival of a society would have meant a recreation of the structure of membership, in some cases involving hereditary seating plans, the renewal of the society paraphernalia, the carrying out of the society performances preliminary to regular seasonal activities of its members, and the war path and hunt itself. Some of these societies were entrusted with the policing of the organized hunt. Hence a complete revival could not be accomplished. But a number of societies were reconstructed to a point just short of completion. These were the Horse Society, the Young Dog Dance, the Horn Dance, the Crazy Dog Dance, the Roached Heads, the hatuxka, and possibly the old War Dance. No reconstruction of the membership arrangements was attempted, but led by men who had been connected with a society in former times, leaderships were instituted, singers were taught the old songs, and the dance performances of the society were carried out more or less exactly. Where old paraphernalia was available a renewal ceremony for its physical repair was attempted; while in some cases replicas of the old sacred objects of a society were made. My informants had witnessed regular participations of revival forms of the Horn Dance, Roached Heads, Crazy Dog Dance, Young Dog Dance,[1] Horse Society and old War Dance in the great gathering of bundles for Emmet Pierson's hand game. (See Chapter X). At this game the altars of these societies were arranged generically: each had one or more pipes and drums, and lances and other sacred objects were set out before the altar. The dancing to society songs in the game intervals required that the drum of the society be moved to the regular drum position, the hand game drum being moved aside.

My informants recalled witnessing in the Ghost Dance period four or five performances of the Crazy Dog Dance, performances of the Horse Society, the Wolf Society, the Roached Heads and the Young Dog Dancers. In Nebraska days, since these societies were for men only, and for masculine functions, such performances could only be participated in by men and by men who were members. The Oklahoma revivals in terms of the Ghost Dance, were on behalf of all the people, and all who wished joined in dancing to

[1] A song recorded by Densmore reports a Ghost Dance vision in which the Young Dog Dance pipe was given. See Chapter II, Ghost Dance Songs.

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178 the songs, whether specially costumed or not. I am told that on
575 occasion even women were known to join the dancing.
796 The Crazy Dog Dancers was revived before 1895 by Skiri Tom, one of the survivors of the old organization. The original membership had been practically annihilated in Nebraska days while on the warpath against the Sioux; the misfortune was so great that a few members who survived hesitated to reorganize. Skiri Tom made Charley Box his main singer, with George Beaver to assist him; White Fox was also a singer. Skiri Tom reconstructed objects closely like the old paraphernalia, a crow-feathered dogwood lance, a pipe, drums and rattles. In the revival dance performances, the [292] dancers were not naked, as in former times, although Skiri Tom himself is said to have worn only a loose jock which exposed the genitals from the rear and caused laughter among the women. [571] Nudity in the old days was a sign of recklessness; those who courted death in war could be bold and foolhardy in the dance. Skiri Tom died about 1906 or 1907; his paraphernalia were buried with him, and the performance of the Crazy Dog Dancers ceased with his death. The songs, however, are still used.

The Roached Heads, originally a Skiri society, was revived on behalf of the tribe under the leadership of George Washington; a performance witnessed was held inside Washington's lodge; the north side was in control.

A performance of the Skiri Wolf Society,[1] witnessed by men and women about 1900, was a departure from its original forms. In aboriginal times this society never danced in the villages either before or after the hunt; on the war path itself, the war party leader organized the performance. As a result, and contrary to the forms of the other societies, no women participated as singers at Wolf Society performances, while in 1900 women singers were employed.

Murie has described the revival of the Horn Dance (raris arika).[2] The society was revived in a modernized form in 1893. "It took [787] its form from the dreams of a woman..." In consecutive dreams she was told how to get an eagle skin, to make the crook crow-feathered lance, and the drum. "The whole ceremony was finally given. At the west side of the lodge upon a robe was the eagle and the pipe, in front of it the crooked stick. A smoke ceremony was made. The woman had a buffalo lariat, or rope, with eagle

[1] The revival may have been led by Running Scout. A song recorded by Densmore, Pawnee music, p. 85, reports a vision of Running Scout which probably refers to the Wolf Society. See also Chapter II, Ghost Dance Songs.
[2] Murie, Societies, pp. 623, 638.

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feathers strung upon it so she could wear it over her shoulder. Her face was painted yellow. She selected a bearer of the crooked staff who was a descendant of the staff bearer in the old one Horn Dance. In part of the dance, dancers imitate various animals. The ceremonies are weird and exciting. A food offering of meat and corn is made. The dance is still given and led by this woman." (1914).

The Horse Society (raris arusa) was revived early, probably by Frank Leader. Murie describes at length a ceremony for renewing the society lances held May 23, 1902.[1] The paraphernalia included two lances, four rattles, four hand drums, and a red pipestone bowl with tubular dogwood stem, the stem incised with black bands to resemble trachea markings.[2]

Of certain societies we cannot be sure that the revival was extensive. All the societies mentioned were used as sources for the content of Ghost Dance visions, and the visionaries made facsimiles of old society objects which they carried in the dance. When the visions were as well bestowals of special rituals, such as hand games, the society objects became part of the bundle and altar. The Crow Lance Society (hatuxka) was revived in this way by Mark Rudder; a lance was placed at the altar, and a brief dance led by Rudder opened the game occasion (See Chapter X). The Society of Crows (raris kaka), a derivative of the hatuxka of aboriginal times, was independently revived by George Beaver, and it is probable that paraphernalia made by him were integrated with his game set.[3] Fancy Eagle is credited with the making of a hand drum which was associated with the old Fighting Lances (tirupahe[4]) and used in hand games.

In addition to the use of paraphernalia, songs of these revived societies were used in the intervals of the hand game ceremonies. It is also probable that the use of drums in the hand game ceremonies was based on old society forms.

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[1] Murie, Societies 561ff.

[2] Ibid., p. 567, p. 566 fig. 5. Two hand drums in the Field Museum (F M 79368—1,2) are probably those of Leader; the face bears in red a representation of the raris arusa sheathed lance with its sets of fringed feathers.

[3] F M 73962 is the revival lance; it is not encased in buckskin. F M 79364 and 79365 are hand drums decorated with Ghost Dance symbols, which are said to have been used for the raris kaka by Beaver.

[4] F M 71934. Reference is made by Densmore, Pawnee music, p. 68 to a song which apparently concerns the revival of this society. See also Chapter II, Ghost Dance Songs.

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REVIVALS OF GAMES

524 The games[1] most important in the old social life of the Pawnee were for men the large hoop and pole game, the hand game,[2] and the moccasin game[3]; for the women, the stick dice game, the plum seed dice game, shinny and double-ball. Boys played at the hand game of the men among themselves[2], and played a boys' form of the hoop and pole game; girls played the womens' games.

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668 All three revival phases took place with the games, paralleling the ritual revivals. The activities were renewed, viz., the games were again played, and played with renewed enthusiasm; the paraphernalia were renewed and reconstructed in that game sets began to be made again in the old way; such were essential for the hoop and pole games, the plum seed and stick dice games, shinny and doubleball: and lastly the games becoming vision sources, sets of paraphernalia were ceremonialized: On the one hand such developments as the ritual hand games took place, and on the other game objects like shinny balls, hoops, etc. were used as vision embodiments and symbols, carried in the dance and employed to induce visions in others. (See Chapter II)

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In these revivals of old forms, we see that those forms were stressed which were most overt and apparent in the old culture: games basically, the non-esoteric activities of the societies (songs and performances) next, and the bundle activities least of all. This weighting follows the probabilities, in terms of the degree to which the old activities were shared by all the people in aboriginal life: those which were common and familiar possessions of the people were readily remembered and revived, while those calling for special traditional learning were difficult to recapture.

221 When individuals in Ghost Dance trances were transported to the other world they came there upon villages of Pawnee living as they had of old. The whole concept of the doctrine being an awakening or renewal, the type of life most often visualized in the trances was the tribal life of the early spring and early summer. In aboriginal days the spring was a season of reawakening. With the first thunder came the opening of the great bundles and the chanting of the creation ritual. This ushered in the spring activities of the people. With the passing of winter, and the renewal

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[1] For descriptions of these games consult Culin, Games, pp. 274, 409, 463, 625, 657.

[2] See Chapters V, VI.

[3] The moccasin game was played by the Pawnee, instead of the hand game, with Central Algonquian tribes.

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of life in the waters and upon earth, the villages were plunged into a round of activities. The young men got ready to go on the warpath, and all their moccasins, garments and weapons had to be put in order. The women made the moccasins, and helped them in other ways to prepare. Meanwhile the games had begun among children and adults. As the time neared for the departure of the war parties, the great war society dances and performances were held. A visitor to the villages at this season would have been directly impressed with three phases of the outdoor scene: the work of individuals, in view here and there; the games; and the spectacular and colorful dances of the warriors before their departure. These aspects of Pawnee life, being old and familiar, dominated the imagery of the Ghost Dance visions.

NEW CULTURAL FORMS

The Ghost Dance proved not only a force for cultural revival, but with a return to the past as an inspirational source and guide, and vision sanctions as immediate drives, the doctrine was an impetus to cultural development. Several noteworthy forms are on record. The Ghost Dance ceremonial forms themselves have already been described. The rapid development of the many Ghost Dance hand game ceremonies were the most striking development and reintegration of the old and new; these form the subject of the entire second part of this study and need not concern us here. In addition the development of the modern iruska, or new war dance, among all four bands, a form of social gathering for feasting and gift-giving; and the spread of the peyote ritual, began at this period.[1]

[1] An anecdote told by Murie (Ceremonies of the Pawnee, in press, Bureau of Ethnology) indicates in a lighter vein, the freedom to make ritual changes which came with the Ghost Dance doctrine, and the occasional results: "It is said that in 1893, the husband of the Skull bundle keeper, a rather young man, took a notion he would shell the corn for the people and distribute it in a new way. He gathered some men, shelled the ear of corn from the bundle, and distributed it himself. The people remonstrated, but he told them he had had a vision and was going to do just as he was told. In June he started to Wichita Mountains. When he got about 35 miles south of Pawnee (it was very hot and dry; the dust was about five inches thick) his wagon broke down and he had to stay there several days, but at last got his wheels repaired and started out again. Travelling was very hard. The old woman who was keeper of the Skull Bundle, struck him on the back and said, 'You will shell corn, will you. See what you have done.' That year the crops burned up, it was so hot."

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178 796 197 According to Murie's[1] account the modern Skiri iruska was taken over from the Oglala Sioux, but went back to a form of the Omaha grass dance. It began to appear among the Pawnee in 1897, and was fully organized by Eagle Chief in 1911. An independent development of the iruska took place among the Kitkahaxki[2]. "About 1894 while the Ghost Dance was still intense a man named Sitting Bear began to have dreams of songs and the forms of the iruska. Later, he organized the ceremony and led it until his death in 1903. Interest in it then declined, but the drum came into the hands of Little-Sun, one of the leading singers. According to this [778 534] ritual, the drum was sacred and its keeper was the keeper of the ritual as in the case of the bundles. In 1912 Little-Sun revived the ceremony with the assistance of Eagle-Fly-High, also a pupil of Sitting-Bear." An independent development of the modern iruska took place among the Tcawi under the leadership of Roaming-Chief,[2] and thence spread to the Pitahawirat[3].[3]

668 796 276 Murie has described how the peyote ritual reaching the Pawnee in 1890 was stimulated by the Ghost Dance excitement; and how some forms of the peyote worship were like Ghost Dance forms.[4] Frank White, the great Pawnee Ghost Dance prophet, was also a peyote devotee (See Chapter 11). Murie adds, "it may be well to note that the founder of this Pawnee cult began to have his revelations during the Ghost Dance excitement. One of his individual [787] doctrines is that while under the influence of peyote one may acquire knowledge or understanding of things previously unknown to himself. In this way, he is said to have learned rituals belonging to bundles and societies and also to have amassed considerable astronomical lore."[5] This indicates the extent to which the effort to bring back cultural aspects buried and forgotten was a definite part of the Ghost Dance doctrine.

[1] Murie, Societies, pp. 624—625, 628. Cf. for a description of the forms of these rituals, pp. 624—630.

[2] Several shields in the Field Museum, depicting warriors' visions of Ghost Dance times are associated with the development of the modern iruska. F M 71844, and F M 59527 (two shields). One of the latter was identified as probably belonging to Roaming-Chief.

[3] The story of gradual changes in the form of Pawnee visiting party arrangements, associated with the modern iruska development, is a complex tale on its own account, and is reserved for treatment elsewhere.

[4] Murie, Societies, p. 636—637.

[5] ibid. p. 638.

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THE PAWNEE AT THE TURN OF THE CENTURY

I have gathered the detailed evidence on the cultural revivals and developments from 1892 on in this summary form, in order to emphasize the reality of the Ghost Dance period as a time of Pawnee renaissance. Like greater cultural movements of this kind, it was a turning backward to the past, an attempt to resurrect, preserve and copy the ancient records. From them a new and revitalized cultural movement flowed. Unfortunately, from the standpoint of Pawnee destiny, several conditions combined to destroy this movement, and as the faith was overthrown, the revivals disappeared and activity based on the new forms in part waned. As a result, we cannot today fully reconstruct the movement of changes or prove the full extent to which the old culture began to revive. I believe the evidence presented is indicative, but only a part of what contemporary recording would have offered.

A cultural renaissance to be effective must be in the hands of a free people, and the directions of its flow must be relatively unimpeded. It was impossible in Oklahoma after 1892 to bring back the old material conditions of life of the Indian; his vision that the buffalo, the old habitations and old landscape would reappear was a mirage. This alone would perhaps have only checked the movement, and turned it in other directions. But the Pawnee were not a people with an independent destiny. Until 1893, they were so many cultural children fathered by the paternal solicitude of the agent and the government; after 1893 the Pawnee were so many unassimilated citizens of the United States.

In 1893, with the allotment of their lands in severalty, the surplus lands of the Pawnee were thrown open to settlement by the white man. The town of Pawnee sprang up almost at once in their very midst. The choice of allotments had not been controlled so as to maintain the reservation lines, and when the unallotted surplus lands became the homes of white men, the Pawnee found themselves side by side with white men for the first time in their history. The allotment in severalty made the Pawnee individual land owners; they were transformed from full wards of the government into citizens subject to the laws of the United States and the Territory in which they lived. As such the Agent no longer had absolute control over them; he could persuade and he could withhold annuity money to help reinforce his suggestions, but he could neither command nor enforce his orders.

The Pawnee found their new freedom much to their liking. For one thing, there was no authority which could compel them to

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stop the Ghost Dance. For another, they found themselves well off financially, with the white settlers among them eager to deal with them. In the town of Pawnee some were able in spite of preventive measures to get drunk at will, at which times as the agent observed, they would proclaim aloud their rights as citizens of the United States.

The allotment of lands had been made per capita. 797 allotments were recorded. A fair estimate would place the 797 as including about 160 families, and 160 to 200 would probably total the number of able-bodied men available for farming. As each family of five members controlled 800 acres of allotted land, it was impossible for the government to expect that the full acreage would be cultivated by the Pawnee men. At the same time the new status of the people left the government with no financial obligations toward the tribe except the permanent annuity, and the payment of interest on trust funds. The Pawnee had to become self-supporting, and if they could not win their sustenance from their own lands, the lands must be put to work for them. As landowners they were allowed to lease large parts of their allotted lands to white farmers and cattlemen: in theory every able-bodied man was to retain a plot of forty acres worked by himself.

The lease system grew by leaps and bounds. At first the lands rented by the year at twenty-five cents an acre for grazing land to one dollar for farming land. The Pawnee land was one fourth rich bottom land, one fourth hilly and rough land, and about one half level upland. The Pawnee reserve was suited to corn and fruit, and in 1897 a trial of cotton was begun. The farm lands continued to rise in rental value. The leases provided for improvements on the land as well as the money rental, and as unplowed land was broken it became more valuable. Rental values rose by 1905 to $ 4.50 an acre for the best farm land. The leasing began in 1894; in 1895 there were 97 leases of Pawnee allotment land and the number increased year by year. At first the payment of lease money was made directly to the Indian, or was paid by the lessee to the agent and by the latter turned over to the Pawnee lessor at once; later as the government found the Indians squandering their money as fast as they received it, the money was kept on deposit for the Pawnee by the agent and drawn on as needed.

There were two reasons for the rapid increase of the lease system: the white man wanted to lease the land from the Indian, because it was profitable land, and at a low rental. The Indian wanted to lease the land to the white man because it brought him money without a kind of labor which was disagreeable to him, especially

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at the time of the Ghost Dance faith. As time went by Indians and white farmers resorted to various subterfuges to get around the ruling that certain lands they held could not be leased. The Indian would claim that he was employing a white man and intended to pay him, but when harvest time came, instead of the Indian paying the white farmer money, the white farmer gave the Indian a part of the crop.

The immediate results of the lease system were two-fold: on the one hand, for the first time in their lives the Pawnee had plenty of money; on the other hand, they had to make no effort at all to support themselves. In 1897 the Pawnee leases brought an income of $ 12,114.95. In 1900 the income of the tribe from their annuity ($ 30,000), interest on their two trust funds (from the sale of the Nebraska reservation; and from the sale of the surplus Oklahoma lands); and leases, was over $ 75,000. In that year the population had dwindled to 650, so that the per capita income was about $ 116 or the income of the average family of five close to $ 600 annually, a substantial and adequate income in 1900 on the Oklahoma frontier.

Year by year the Pawnee labored less and less on their own lands: in 1904 their self-maintenance was 42 per cent from their annuity and interests, 43 per cent from leases, and 15 per cent from "labor in civilized pursuits." By 1899 the agents had fully realized the extent of the blunder which had been made: they were aware that the Pawnee could not be made to labor when he had all he needed without it, and pointed out in their reports that white men would have acted in the same way.

Along with the disappearance of all demands upon them to be self-reliant and self-maintaining, the Pawnee were stripped of their last outlets for self management. Leases were made not by the Indian but by the agent; lease money was paid not to the Indian but to the agent. All that the Indian had to do was to draw his income. At the same time with the change of status to citizens, the function of the Court of Indian Offenses vanished, and the court was abolished April 21, 1894; the Indian police were disbanded in October of the same year.

Temporarily with their increased income, the living conditions of the Pawnee improved; they ate better, they dressed better, and they lived better. But the idleness which had come to them was in keeping with their desire during these years to congregate in encampments for Ghost Dances and other performances, so that they leased their houses with their lands and made shift to live here or there as the occasion demanded. During these years there

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was a constant fall of the population. From 797 at the time of the allotments in severalty the Pawnee were reduced to 633 in 1904. The decrease was steady. The diseases which had persisted in the tribe continued to take their toll during these years. Doctors ascribed failure to control them to their inheritability, to the conditions of continual exposure incident to camp life and continual dancing, and to the pernicious influence and control of the Pawnee medicine men who as a result of the Ghost Dance revival had regained their status with the people.

The Pawnee not only did not have to work to live, but were in a position to pay white men to do their necessary work for them. They paid high prices, and their money went as fast as it came. Their funds were augmented from time to time by the sale of inherited allotment lands.

The conditions of idleness only served to reinforce the revival of the old cultural forms. The Pawnee disliked isolation most of all, and gladly leased their scattered allotments, coming together for a continual round of Ghost Dances, performances, games, and hand game ceremonies. Stripped of their last vestige of responsibility, with no activities that were meaningful or satisfying save these old and new forms of Indian life, they turned to these with a kind of desperation. The experiences of these years, even while the Ghost Dance brought some hope into their lives, caused a number of young men to commit suicide. Eight suicides were recorded in the period from 1892 to 1898. They were reported as occasioned by slight causes, and were traced to the "pernicious influence of the Ghost Dance."

The indolence of the Pawnee became such that in the early years of the century the officials and missionaries began to plead for a change of program. They held that the only solution possible was to throw the Indians on their own resources entirely. Some agents developed the suggestion that at least those Pawnee men who could manage their own affairs should be allowed to lease their own lands and receive the payments themselves. This movement to take away entirely the guidance and control of the agency resulted later (after 1916) in issuing many titles in fee simple to Indians, often without their consent.

Under these conditions, at the turn of the century, the cultural revival of the Pawnee was doomed. It could not take roots in any soil: it was based on no firm way of life. It gradually passed, leaving the Indians still with an empty life, living off the funds which came from the government, and the payments of white far-

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mers who leased their land. But those forms of life which had arisen in answer to their need for social gatherings remained. The modern iruska, with its large scale intertribal visiting parties, the peyote ritual, and the hand games. Later still the modern powwow was to arise to draw the Indians of the entire state into a continual round of visiting. To the continuing hand game ceremonies, the major intellectual product of the Ghost Dance years, we can now turn to see in what way they were formed, and what needs they filled.

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II

IV.

THE HAND GAME. DISTRIBUTION AND CHARACTER

668 525 In this part I have traced the changes in the Pawnee hand game which were functions of the Ghost Dance revival and the renaissance of culture. As a preliminary, this chapter sketches the place of the hand game in the aboriginal culture of North America. It was part of a wide distribution of guessing games, and the principles of chance play involved in the hand games may well have been basic to the principles of chance involved in other forms of guessing games. The consideration herein is not exhaustive; while a new treatment and re-classification of American Indian games seems called for by modern study, such a discussion, amplifying and correcting Culin,[1] must be intensive, and is necessarily irrelevant to the present theme.

525 The hand game is one of the guessing games of the North American Indians. These games, along with dice games, were, according to Culin, the only games of chance played by the American Indians. The guessing games present considerable variety: differences in objectives of play, paraphernalia used, forms of play, methods of concealment, methods of scoring, type and form of accompanying music, and ritualisation, are widespread. This variability in the guessing games is if anything increased by the errors and misunderstandings of early travelers on whose accounts Culin had to depend for information from some regions. In some cases modern information has superseded the early accounts; in others the cultures are extinct, and confusions must remain.

525 171 The guessing games of North American Indians have a contiguous and continuous distribution throughout certain regions of the continent. Guessing games are absent throughout the cultures of the arctic and sub-arctic regions: the Eskimo, the Athapascan peoples of Alaska and northwestern Canada, and the Algonquian peoples of northeastern Canada, the Hudson Bay region and Maine.

[1] Culin, Games.

[p. 124]

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These games are also absent throughout the southeastern United States. Conversely, in one or another form, guessing games are present throughout the Northwest Coast, California, the Plateau, the Great Basin, the Southwest, the Plains, and in the Eastern Woodlands from the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence southward to the edges of southeastern culture. This contiguous distribution of the presence and absence of guessing games implies historical relations of one or another sort. Such a major development of guessing games is unknown from other primitive regions of the world, so that the American Indian guessing games must be considered an indigenous development.

This does not mean that the guessing games must have had a unit origin in time and space and then diffused over the continent. Any guessing game is a complex combination of themes which have no necessary or inherent relation to one another; for example, a method of scoring points won, and the associated guessing objective by which points are won; the objects used in play, as sticks, discs, bones, and the associated method of scoring; the fact and form of musical accompaniment, and the associated type of play. The exact historical understanding of the development of the guessing games must be based upon a consideration of these independent themes, in their special distributions, and the elaboration and integration which they have undergone in special complexes. I shall not attempt this here.

Culin has considered the guessing games under four heads: stick games, hand games, the four stick game, and the hidden-ball game. This classification is not thorough. While it is true that the four-stick game is undoubtedly a unit form which has developed out of the background of guessing games, the hidden-ball game, as Spier has argued,[1] has two typical forms which we have no reason to identify. The stick games appear in several variant forms, which could be considered as different from one another as the two types of hidden-ball game, or the hand game and the hidden-ball game.

The four stick game has a limited and localized distribution. It occurs among contiguous tribes of northeastern California, western Nevada, and Oregon. In this game four sticks consisting of two pairs of like sticks are arranged in a serial order under a basket tray or blanket, and the opposition must guess the arrangement. There are six possible arrangements, of which four are identical with the four possible arrangements of the hiding counters in a four-hand hand game. Among the Klamath Dorsey reports

[1] Spier, Havasupai Ethnography, p. 351.

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that the two additional positions are ruled out of the scoring.[1] These are the positions in which the similars lie paired. This indicates that these positions are actually additional and not fully integrated in the game.

Of the hidden-ball game, the northern type is the moccasin game. This is played by Algonquian tribes of the Eastern Woodlands and Great Lakes, by the Iroquois, and by several Plains Siouan tribes. An object is concealed under one of four moccasins, the opposition having to locate or avoid it. Scoring methods are variable. The essential chance is a one-out-of-four, which is identical with the chance of full success in a four-hand hand game, or the four stick game of the Klamath.

The southern type of hidden-ball game is the canute or reed game of the Pueblo region. Eliminating special variations, the type is played by all the pueblo tribes, the southern Athapascans, the Yuman tribes of Arizona, the Pima, the Papago and the Ute. A small round object is hidden in one of four receptacles or places — these being other than moccasins — and the opposition attempts either to locate or avoid the hidden object, or to locate it on a particular guess. Among most pueblo tribes four reed tubes are used as places of concealment; the Hopi variation is a tubular shaped cup instead of a reed. At Zuni and among several of the Rio Grande pueblos the reeds are further concealed in mounds; while the Hano, Pima and Papago fill their tubes or cups with sand. The Yumans bury the object in one of four heaps of sand. An anomalous form is used by the Navaho, who conceal the object in one of four moccasins and then bury the moccasins in sand; suggesting, as remarked by Spier,[2] a combination of the southern and northern types of hidden-ball game. In general, locating the concealed object on the first guess is associated with the use of mounds of sand, while the reed game proper employs the principle of locating the hidden object on the third guess, with which is associated a complicated manner of scoring.

The two most widely distributed guessing games are the stick games and the hand games. The stick games are absent in the entire southern region of guessing games, that is, among Caddoans and Kiowans of the Plains, all groups of the Southwest, all Shoshoneans (including the entire region of the Great Basin), and southern California. This confines the stick games to the Northwest Coast, northern and central California, the Plateau, and a sporadic belt of occurrences through the Plains and the Eastern Woodlands to the Algonquians of the New England Coast.

[1] Culin, Games, p. 329. [2] op. cit.

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The most typical developments of the stick games occur on the Northwest Coast, in northern California, and in the Plateau region. Two types are distinguishable here on the basis of the paraphernalia of play; while the principle of play is the same. On the Northwest Coast, among the Interior Salish, the Athapascans of California, the Klamath, and sporadically in northern California (as well as among the Teton Dakota of the Plains), a varying number of sticks among which is included an ace is divided into two parts, and the opponent guesses to locate or avoid the ace. Centering among the Coast Salish, but occurring also among the Klickitat, Chinook and Makah, is a variant in which the sets consist of ten wooden discs, one of which is an ace. The pack is divided while concealed under shredded cedar bark, and the guesser tries to choose the ace.

Variants of the stick games which occur in California, the Plains and the Eastern Woodlands, include one very general form in which an odd number of sticks is divided into two packs, and the opposition guesses for the odd number, the even number, or optionally even or odd. Other variants involve the guessing of the exact number of sticks in a bunch, or special manners of guessing chance distributions.

The basic principle of play of the typical stick games, the western stick and disc games, and the odd or even game, is a choice between two alternatives, some form of hiding or concealment (large numbers of sticks in the odd or even form being a method of concealment) being a preliminary.

The hand games proper are those which employ the hands as places in which an object to be guessed for is concealed. Such games are absent east of the Mississippi, among the pueblo and Athapascan peoples of the Southwest, and among most of the Algonquian tribes who play either the moccasin or stick game. Hand games occur in the Plains, throughout the Great Basin, California, the Plateau and the Northwest Coast. Hand games to the exclusion of other guessing games are played by all Shoshonean peoples save the Paiute of Pyramid Lake (who share with their Washo neighbors the four-stick game), and the Hopi (who like other pueblo groups play the reed game); by Caddoans; by Kiowans; by several Algonquian and Siouan tribes of the Plains; by the Kutenai; and by all Shahaptians except the Klickitat. Except for the development of the Ghost Dance ceremonial hand games, whose distribution is considered in Chapter XII, the hand game, wherever played, is a gambling game.

Reported information on the hand game, particularly the early material used by Culin, is especially weak in failing to distinguish two types of play. When an individual plays a hand game, he

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hides a counter in one hand, or he hides two different counters one in each hand, and his opponent guesses for the hidden counter, or a given one of the two differing counters. As soon as more than two individual opponents play the game becomes more complicated. Typically, two players of one side each hide one counter or two differing counters, and opposing players guess the distribution. Probably both forms of play occur side by side in many more tribes than we have on record, the former for individual play, the latter for team play.

Some variants should be mentioned. Among some Californian tribes play is side against side, four players composing each side, but the guessing is individual player against opposing individual, as they sit; this form is consistent with the patterns for betting, which elsewhere even with team play, is individual against individual. Occasionally, as among one Pomo group, two players hide counters but the opposing guesser may optionally try to locate the whole distribution or the separate arrangement of either opponent's hands; this optional manner seems intermediate between two-hand and four-hand forms. The Achomawi, Haida and some others use one counter, and the opposition guesses in which hand (usually of four) it is located. Among some tribes one counter is passed along the players of a side (number not clearly stated) and opponents must locate the counter as to player, or hand. Among Yuman peoples, each member of a side conceals a counter, and the guesser tries for the whole distribution at once (apparently the sides usually consist of four members), and the guessing continues only for those unlocated. These variants, based on Culin, are local developments, and probably specializations of the hand game theme.

The type forms are the two-hand and four-hand manners of play already mentioned. In the two-hand form whether one counter or two is concealed the principle is the same; and in the four-hand form whether two counters or four are concealed the principle is the same. In the first case, the chance is one out of two, in the second one out of four (for a perfect guess). It is probable that the Plains method of play for the four-hand form, in which, if the guesser locates the counter of one opponent only, his side loses one tally and he continues to guess only for the counter not found, would prove more widespread if better information were available.

The early data used by Culin emphasizes predominantly the two-hand form. Later information on hand games of the Plains, Basin, California and the Plateau, of Kroeber, Lowie, Wissler, Spier, Gunther, Dorsey and others, as well as Powers' early material on California, in most cases reverses the emphasis, describing

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primarily the four-hand form. This form, being more complicated, undoubtedly confused the casual observer of earlier days. As a result we cannot be sure of independent distributions of the two forms, or the distribution of their coexistence. What Gunther states for the Klallam, "... they play with two bones, guessing for the marked one. Occasionally in a big game four bones are put into play, being held by two people,"[1] is likely to be an option much more widespread in the Plains, California, the Basin and the Plateau than our records show. Culin's data indicates a definite emphasis upon the two-hand form among tribes of the North Pacific Coast, and Boas has confirmed this.[2] The material sets of bones to hide catalogued by Culin, are for the most part of four bones, two pairs of similars, suggesting the four-hand form as the mode; nor does the occurrence of sets of two bones rule out the four-hand form, in view of the manner of giving each player one bone.

Before discussing the problem offered by the principles of play of the hand games and guessing games, some important characteristics of the distributions should be noted. No American Indian tribe plays all four types of guessing game. Four tribes play three games: The Klamath, Achomawi and Washo, play the local four stick game as well as the stick and hand games; and the Plains Cree play the stick game, the hand game and the moccasin game. With such rare exceptions, the American Indian tribes who play guessing games play at most two variants. The overlapping in the Eastern Woodlands is between the moccasin and stick games; in the Plains either between the moccasin and stick games or the stick and hand games, not between the hand and moccasin games[3]; while the main overlapping occurs in the Northwest Coast area, the Plateau and California, where stick and hand games occur side by side.

The stick games involve typically the chance principle of one out of two; the moccasin game, the reed game, and the four stick game,[4] involve a one out of four chance for a perfect guess. Hand games may involve either: two-hand hand games offer the one-of-two chance principle, four-hand hand games the one-of-four chance principle. The overlappings of the game distributions, except for the Northwest Coast and sporadic cases elsewhere, are

[1] Gunther, Klallam, p. 274.

[2] In conversation.

[3] In some cases, tribes of the Plains whose native game was the hand game played the moccasin game when opposed to tribes more accustomed to the moccasin game. (Pawnee).

[4] I assume here that the limitation of positions of the Paiute four stick game (Culin, 334) or of tallying for only four positions by the Klamath (Culin, 329) are typical of the four-stick game.

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primarily between a two-alternative game and a four-alternative game. This suggests that as regards the chance principles involved the stick games may be related to the two-hand hand game, and the moccasin, reed and four stick games to the four-hand hand game. An individual hand game must be a two-alternative game. As soon as a four-chance principle game is required four hands are necessary. To utilize the same principle for individual play, the objects must be objectified (four-stick game) or the receptacles objectified (moccasin and reed games).

In terms then of the principles of chance involved, the guessing games of the American Indians are probably differing developments of associations of other themes to the two chance themes which appear in the hand games. These two chance themes, the two alternative and four alternative manners, might be considered in terms of limited possibilities to be accidentally re-invented principles if our distribution showed a reasonably chance occurrence of the one-out-of-three or one-out-of-five principles. Two cases are on record suggesting a one-out-of-three chance: Mecker and Prescott report that the Oglala and Santee Dakota used three moccasins in the moccasin game: Mecker makes optional the use of two, three or four moccasins by the Oglala: Prescott describes three as the Santee norm. Prescott's statement is disputed by the reports of Neill and Riggs, who both state that four moccasins are the number used.[1] In addition to these statements, Catlin describes the Iowa as using three or four moccasins.[2] These are the only cases in which a one out of three chance is mentioned, and it seems at best an option. Five alternatives do not occur. These facts support the theory that the two-alternative and four-alternative chance themes have usurped the development of Indian guessing games because of the two-hand and four-hand forms of the hand game.

This theory concerns only the principles of chance involved in the play of the games. Such associated themes as paraphernalia, forms of scoring, vocal accompaniment, etc., must be considered separately before statements relative to the total game complexes as such can be made. Furthermore, some specialized developments call for special explanation: the third-guess manner of the Pueblo reed game, associated with elaborate scoring devices, may have to be considered in relation to sources quite different from those of the general North American guessing game development. Such detailed problems require a more relevant place for discussion.

The Pawnee hand game, described in the next chapter, is primarily of the four-hand form, and belongs to the central area of distribution of the hand games, the Plains and the Basin.

[1] Culin, 364–365. [2] ibid., 366.

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V.

PLAY OF THE PAWNEE HAND GAME

To understand the changes which make up the history of the Pawnee hand game, as considered in this study, it is essential that the skeleton of the game play itself be clearly understood. Only in this way can the ritualization which occurred in ghost dance times be visualized against the old game background. The game itself is interesting on its own account. In actual play it has its own excitements and exhilarations, and the pleasure of winning and annoyance of losing can be readily shared by an outsider who participates for a short time.

The Game Sets: Culin catalogs hand game sets in various museums.[1] The Pawnee and Wichita sets pictured and described by him are all Ghost Dance hand game sets, not sets used for the early gambling game. Pawnee sets always consist of eight sticks used as *tally sticks* with which to keep score, and two special bones or die, used as *counters* in hiding.

Sides and Officials: In the playing of the game, two sides oppose each other; any number of players may be joined to either side, even numbers being immaterial. They are definitely immaterial in the Ghost Dance hand games where the affiliation of the individual in the Ghost Dance determines on which side that individual plays. In the old men's gambling game even numbers as regards the players were also immaterial, the visitors or guests always being considerably outnumbered by their hosts; but since in placing wagers individuals bet with individuals, the numbers of those who wagered was the same for both sides. When the boys played and chose sides, the sides were usually more or less even in numbers. The two sides form two halves of a circle, the head end being either at the west or at the north. In all Ghost Dance hand games but one it is at the west; in that one it is at the north. In the old hand game the orientation of the sides was determined by the direction from which the guests or visitors came, with the head end always either west or north. At this head end sit two tallyers, who are the leaders of their respective sides, usually with two

[1] Culin, p. 276ff.

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525 assistants. These leaders are called *rixkit*[a]. Leadership is important
468 in both the old games and the Ghost Dance games. In the old game the main leader of the visiting side is the man who comes
[276] bringing the pipe. In Ghost Dance games there are always four individuals behind the altar, following the generic ceremonial pattern of the Pawnee. The two inner ones — next the east-west line, or the north-south line in the one case — are the main leaders, the two outer men being their assistants. These tallyers keep the score with the tally sticks. The leader of each side selects one player to do the guessing for that side.

[276] *Putting the counters in play:* There are preliminaries to the actual playing of the game proper: in the old games, the smoking of the pipe brought by the leader of the visiting party, the betting, and often a special dance by the visitors; in the ghost dance hand games, the smoke offering, the selection of the guessers, and usually an old dance song sung by the drummers of the host side. The leader of each side selects a guesser for that side by arising, going to one player and giving him a counter.

When the game proper is ready to begin the two guessers arise and face each other across the head end of the arena, each on his side of the midline. Each has one counter. The guesser of the host side puts his hands behind his back while he conceals the counter in one hand, then brings both clenched hands forward and moves them in rhythm while his opponent guesses. Then whatever the outcome, the opponent hides his counter and the first guesses. Calling the guesser of the host side A, and that of the guest side B, there are now four possibilities:

1) A found B's counter and B failed to find A's. In this case they are won by A who puts them in play on his side.

2) A failed to find B's counter and B found A's. In this case they are won by B, who puts them in play on his side.

3) A found B's counter and B found A's counter. In this case the procedure is repeated, until possibility 1) or 2) as above is realized, with the exception noted below.

4) A failed to find B's counter and B failed to find A's counter. In this case the procedure is repeated, until possibility 1) or 2) as above is realized, with the exception noted below.

If either possibility 3) or possibility 4), as above, occurs four times in succession, it is customary for the guessers to yield their office to two others, who try all over again.[1]

[1] In one Skiri Ghost Dance hand game, that of George Beaver, it is said that no change made after four misguesses, but the procedure continued until was one guesser had won both counters.

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When in this way, the guesser of one side has won both counters, he takes them to two players—usually two seated side by side—of his side and gives one to each. These two players conceal the counters, and the opposing guesser comes across the arena to locate them.

The Play: The two counters when won by the guesser of one side are given to two players of that side, one to each. Each player conceals the counter given to him in one hand so that there is no evidence from his closed fists in which hand it is held. Usually the counter is concealed while the hands are held behind the back, or for a woman, under the skirt. The players who have the counters then bring their fists forward and shake their clenched hands back and forth before the guesser of the opposing side, who stands at a little distance, watching their movements and trying to add to mere chance some significant slip or move which may reveal to him which hand to choose.

In making a choice, with two counters concealed each one in either of two hands, there are four possible combinations: the two outer hands, the two inner hands, the two right hands of the hiders, and the two left hands of the hiders. There are special motions used by the guessers to indicate which of these possibilities is chosen.

To indicate the two outer hands, the guesser spreads his arms slightly outward to the sides, *or* raises both hands with erect thumbs and points the thumbs outward from his body, *or* raises the right hand with the thumb and index finger spread. To indicate the inner hands the guesser extends the right arm as if slicing between the players with the open right hand. To indicate the two right hands of the players, the guesser motions with his own right hand leftwards, *or* raises his right hand with index finger erect. To guess the two left hands of the players, the guesser motions with his own right hand to the right, *or* raises his right hand with index and third finger erect.

As soon as the guesser's choice has been indicated in one of the above ways, the players who hold the counters open the indicated hands so that all may see whether or not the guess has been successful. The player may if he wishes when the guess has been unsuccessful also open the hand containing the counter.

There are three possible results of the guess:

1) The guesser is fully successful if with his single guess he has chosen the two hands in which the two counters are concealed. In this case he wins the counters for his own side. Neither side scores points. The guesser who has won the counters takes them

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525 668 across the arena to two players of his side, and the opposing guesser must now come across to try to find them.

2) The guesser is completely unsuccessful if his guess has indicated the two empty hands. In this case the players holding the counters score two points for their side, which are recorded by the keeper of the tally sticks for that side. Usually the guesser of the side in possession of the counters stands near the play, and, otherwise inactive, he indicates to the tallyer at the head end whether one or two points have been scored by holding up his right hand with index finger erect, or with index and third finger erect. In the excitement of play, other players of the side scoring points who are close to the play usually also indicate to the tallyer what has happened, and many shout "asku", one, or "pitku", two, as well. If the side holding the counters scores two points, the same two players conceal the counters again, and the guesser of the opposing side must try his luck again.

3) The third possibility is that the guesser locates one counter, and misses the other. In this case the side holding the counters scores one point (for the one not found). Then the successful player whose counter was not indicated hides again, while the unsuccessful player awaits the outcome. The guesser now has only to indicate which hand the one counter is concealed in, and has a one out of two chance. If he finds this one counter, he has now won both for his own side, and takes them across the arena to two players of his side. No further points are scored. If, on the other hand, the guesser fails to find this single counter in play, the side holding the counters scores another single point. Now both players (the same two) hide again, including the one who lost the first time, and the other who has twice scored single points. With both hiding again the guesser must try his luck once more with all the possibilities open.

525 533 668 *The Musical Accompaniment:* Besides the special songs which are sung before the game proper begins, and the songs sung in the intervals between the games, hand game songs are sung to the actual play of the game. The side holding and hiding the counters sings continuously while the counters remain in their possession. As soon as the guesser has won both, the song ceases abruptly, while the opposing side begins as abruptly to sing. In the old Pawnee hand game the clapping of hands was the only instrumental accompaniment. In the Ghost Dance hand games, drums are used. The songs in the intervals are sung by the side which has just won the game.

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Scoring: As will be seen from the account of the game in play points are scored by the side in possession of the counters when the guesser of the opposing side fails to find the counters. Success in guessing does not score points but wins possession of the counters.

The record of the scoring is kept with the eight tally sticks which lie at the head end (altar end) before the two leaders. In the old hand games these eight sticks are in one heap between the tallyers or leaders; in the Ghost Dance hand games, four are bunched in front of the leader of each side. When his side scores a point, the tallyer takes one of the sticks and places it before him in a separate group, until the eight sticks have all been put in scoring play by having been won by one side or the other. Thus in the old hand game the tallyer would take sticks from the bunch of eight lying between the leaders; while in the Ghost Dance hand game he would take sticks first from the bunch of four not in play lying before his opponent, and then from the bunch of four not in play lying before himself. After the sticks are all in scoring play, a point is recorded for one side by taking one of the sticks already won or scored by the other side and adding it to the "score" bunch of the first side.

A hypothetical illustration of scoring will make the method clearer:

1) A B

2) A B

1) represents the arrangement of tally sticks before scoring occurs in the old handgames. 2) represents the same in the Ghost Dance hand games.

If A's side scores two points the respective arrangements are:

1) A B

2) A B

If B then scores two points:

1) A B

2) A B

are the respective arrangements. Then should B again score let us say one point:

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1) // /// ///
A B

2) // / // ///
A B

illustrate the way the tally sticks would lie.

Now suppose that A scores three points. The resultant arrangements:

1) ///// ///
A B

2) ///// ///
A B

show that the original groups of sticks in both cases are now all in play. From this point on the scoring consists merely of moving the number of sticks won from one side to the other until as a result of the run of play all the eight sticks cluster on one side or the other. Thus at the point represented above, if one side or the other were lucky enough to run out the game in one turn, A's side would need three points in a row to do so, B's side five.

The only difficulty in following the method of scoring is that it must be remembered that all the tally sticks must have been put in scoring play by having been once won by either side, before accumulating all the sticks wins the game. This is obvious in the case of arrangement 1) of the old hand game where the sticks lie in one bunch between the tallyers. Here if both sides have already scored points the side which is running out first scores by winning the sticks not as yet in play, and then the sticks already won by the opponent. In the Ghost Dance games where each leader has four sticks before him, these belong only ceremonially, as it were, to his side, and have no reference to the scoring of the game. They must be put in scoring play in the same way that the eight bunched sticks are in the old game. Thus when one side wins four sticks in its first turn, all eight are in front of the tallyer of that side, but only four have been put in scoring play. These lie in a separate bunch, and the side must win in addition the four sticks which lie in front of their own leader, but which are not yet in scoring play, before the game has been won. If in these Ghost Dance games each side has already scored, a side running out tallies sticks in the following order: first, those before the opponent not yet in scoring play, then those before the side's own leader not in scoring play, then those which the opponent has scored.

After winning a game: A hand game occasion, whether in the old form or the Ghost Dance form, is never ended by merely winning

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a game. To use an analogy, one of these games is like a "rubber" in bridge. In the old game, such "rubber" games are played until the possessions that one side can bet are exhausted, or until, because it is late, all agree to stop. In the Ghost Dance games, special arrangements of the number of "rubber" games to be played are made beforehand. Some of the Ghost Dance hand games have a fixed number of games to be played, usually seven, and regardless of the final outcome, viz., whether one side has won four, the other three, or one side has won all seven, the usual custom is to cease playing when the seven games have been finished. Other Ghost Dance hand games have variant methods which are optional, such as to play "even up" a certain number, which means that one side must win so many *more* games than the other.

When one game has been won, there is an interval during which dancing and singing takes place, led by the winning side.

After this a second game begins. For this second game, the guesser of the winning side retains his office, while the guesser of the losing side, by giving another player of his side the counter, inducts him into office as guesser for the side. So that in *putting the counters in play* for a second or later game, there will always be one guesser who participated in the previous game—the guesser of the side which has won—and one new guesser for the other side.

After the counters have been put in play in a second game or later, the players to whom they are first given by the guesser who wins both, are, in the Ghost Dance hand games, those whose turn it is to play.

Taking Turns to Play: In the old games there is essentially no formal method of taking turns. As will be detailed below, the main object being to win actual stakes which are valuable, the counters are given to hide to players who are thought to be lucky or especially able in deceiving the guesser. These will be any two chosen by the guesser, regardless of what positions they are seated in. That is, the individuals may be next each other, or widely separated in the row of players. But, after such individuals have had a turn, and have lost the counters, the custom would be for the guesser, when he had rewon the counters from players of the opposing side, to give them to hide to two other players of his side.

In the Ghost Dance hand games the whole routine is formalized. For each hand game there is an order in which the players seated around the arena take turns. This order may or may not differ from one game to another. The most general form is for the players to take turns as they are seated from the head end to the doorway,

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thus usually from west to east. The counters are always given, in such a case, to two players sitting alongside each other.

Each player who is given a counter to hide has a continuous turn until he and his partner have finally lost the counters. Then when they are rewon by the guesser of that side, they are given to the next two players in order. This method of allowing continuous turns overrides the interval between games. Thus not only is the guesser of the winning side retained, but the first time in the second game that he gives the counters to two players of his side, he gives them to the two players who "ran out" the previous game, and whose turn was not over, but was interrupted by the winning of the game. On the other hand, on the side which has just lost the game, the first two players to hide are the next two to those who last played.

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VI.

THE OLD PAWNEE HAND GAME[1]

When the Pawnee lived in Nebraska, and for some time after they removed to Oklahoma, the hand game kept its traditional place in Pawnee life as a gambling game. It was a game for men only, and primarily an adults' game; the women did not participate and were not supposed to come near where the men were playing. The game was conceived as a warpath, and so dramatized: and warpaths for the Pawnee were activities excluding the participation of women. The men's game was usually a contest between two Pawnee bands, in which one would visit the other for the express purpose of playing a hand game and gambling on the result. Small boys, in imitation of their elders, would play hand games and gamble. And in the same way that one Pawnee band visited another to challenge them to play the hand game, men of one Pawnee band would visit a tribe with whom they were on friendly terms for a hand-game contest. For the most part, it was a game for the younger men; maturer men, like chiefs and braves, usually did not gamble.

The three old types of play will be more lucid from short narratives[2]:

THE BOYS' HAND GAME

When small boys played a hand game, it came about as part of their play around the village. Some group of boys would decide to play the way their elders did, and as many or as few as there were,

[1] The old Pawnee gambling hand game has not heretofore been described. Culin, in his monographic treatment of Games of the North American Indians, quotes, p. 276, on Pawnee a passage from G. B. Grinnell, Story of the Indian, p. 27. The description of the method of play in the passage differs fundamentally from that herein reported. Examination shows that the quoted passage is a generalized description by Grinnell of the hand game among Indian tribes of the Plains. No reference suggests that he intended it as a description of play among the Pawnee. Culin was no doubt misled by the fact that, following the passage quoted, Grinnell tells the story of a game between Pawnee and Cheyenne scouts in the army, in which a Cheyenne was caught cheating; but in recounting this episode Grinnell does not describe the form of play. Grinnell was familiar with the game among more than eight tribes, and was probably not overconcerned in a popular treatment with the local tribal variations in play.

[2] As told by Mark Evarts; somewhat edited.

525 [562] [574] [885] 525 857 [114] [p. 139]

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525 857 they would go off somewhat from the village and choose sides. Someone of them would find sticks and break up eight sticks to make a tally set, and would make two little rings of willow to use as the counters to hide. Some of the boys would steal wood from the woodpiles in the lodges or around the tipis, and build a fire where the boys had decided to play.

When they had the place ready and the fire going, each boy would make up his own mind which side he would be on, so long as the division came out evenly; and each side selected its own leader. To the boys it made no difference what the orientation of their arrangements were: if the sides were north of the fire and south of the fire, or east of the fire and west of it, made little difference to them. Usually they had the scorekeepers at the west, in imitation of their elders. The boys would bet anything they had, such as things they wore, betting on the outcome of the individual games, and would go on playing games as long as a losing side had anything they could put up against the winnings of their opponents. They picked their guessers and decided for themselves which side should guess first. In the play of the game, they followed out the game as given above, playing it and scoring it the usual way. They kept no order in giving the willow rings to players to hide, giving them as much as possible to boys who were known to be good hiders and quick and adept at deception. Their principal object was to win the game, on the outcome of which they had wagered shirts, rings and other things that could not well be spared.

525 533 857 The boys sang songs to the play of the game, and accompanied the singing with hand-clapping. The side which held the willow-rings did the singing and hand-clapping, using it to confuse the guesser. The songs were boys' songs essentially, that they had made up at one time or another, or that they had learned from other boys, although when possible they learned and used adult songs. They were often coarse and always more or less funny. Such refrains as the following are typical:

"My grandmother's out of joint" etc. (referring to her knee).

"My grandmother fell- she raised a cloud of dust", etc.

[831] "Hurry up grandma and come, come quick we want to win."

[603] "The balls swing round, swing round," etc. (referring to the testicles).

The songs indicate the license in speech and action between boys and their grandmothers, which accurately reflects the family conditions.

525 857 The boys who held the willow-rings to hide would motion with their hands back and forth; they made efforts to deceive as well

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as confuse, and it seems likely, that, as in the adults' game, the hidden rings were shifted back and forth from hand to hand as adeptly as possible. Often the boys would fight over the play of the game. The guesser particularly had to be bold and fearless, because even when he won the willow-rings, those who held them would often refuse to give them up. Then he had to fight for them.

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THE INTER-BAND GAME

The men's game as played by Pawnee bands against each other is illustrated by the following narrative of a game played in Oklahoma in early days by the Kitkahaxki[x] against the Skiri.

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A Kitkahaxki[x] man who wanted to go to play the Skiri, asked a friend to join him as assistant leader, and got together a party of Kitkahaxki[x] youths. Mark Evarts, a Skiri, was then a boy at school, and a friend of the Kitkahaxki[x] organizer. This man asked Mark to join the party so Mark started off with the Kitkahaxki[x]. As he passed under the windows of the girls' dormitory building, a girl leaned out and called, "Where are you going, Mark?" He answered, "We're going to play a hand game, give me something to take along," whereat she threw down a shawl of hers for him to take along to bet with. Each member of the party carried a supply of articles to wager. The leader carried a pipe.

The leader spoke of their going saying, "Well, we're going on the warpath to play the Skiri a hand game."

When they got to the Skiri village, the village crier came out and asked, "What is it?" The Kitkahaxki[x] leader, carrying the pipe, replied, "We've come on the warpath for the hand game." At that the old crier ran back and began calling out through the encampment, "there's a party from the west have come to our Skiri camp on the warpath for the hand game. Now boys get the wood and pile it up right here." Boys began to haul wood and heap it up in one place outdoors. A crowd of Skiri gathered around the visiting party. Knifechief, as the Skiri leader, took the Kitkahaxki[x] leader and two or three others home to supper. Other members of the party were taken into other lodges to eat. While they were eating, a large fire was started outside on the game ground. Soon the announcer could be heard outside calling, "Come on everybody."

They form two halves of a circle. The Kitkahaxki[x] sit in a semi-circle on the west side of the fire, from north to south, the Skiri on the east side from north to south. The two leaders of their sides sit at the north with the eight tally sticks in one bunch between them. All the Skiri players are seated. (Fig. 1) They are the home players. They outnumber the visiting challengers. Skiri

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625 chiefs, warriors and braves stand around to watch the game; they
619 do not play. An important Skiri chief may come to look on, may sit at a distance and smoke calmly. By his presence he expresses his interest in the welfare and doings of his people. Some Skiri players, perhaps the leader, leave the circle to sit beside him and smoke with him, to show their appreciation of his presence.

The Kitkahaxki[x] leader has the pipe in his hand. All who are going to play have found their places. Women come and stand [562] at a little distance to look on. They must not sit down or join the circle. They never play the hand game.

The fire forms a long narrow line between the sides, fifteen feet long from north to south, only two to three feet wide (see Fig. 1) At the south ends of the lines are two men who function as tarutsius, "fire tenders."

Now the players place their bets. Blankets, shirts, vests, horses are waged on the outcome. Each bets against a friendly enemy of the other side, individual against individual. The two articles are tied together, making one bundle. The bundles are thrown down in one heap before the leaders. The winning side will carry off the whole pile of plunder, and each winning player takes from it his individual stake and his winning.

The leader of the Kitkahaxki[x] party begins to speak,

"Brother, I thought of coming to see you for the hand game.
619 Well, my brother, we are here. I've brought this pipe for you.
525 I want you to accept it to smoke."

276 He rises. He takes the filled pipe to the fire and lights it with
788 a brand. He draws a few puffs himself, then, standing before Knifechief, the Skiri leader in the game, gives him the pipe to smoke without releasing it, then takes it to his left and lets the assistant leader on the Kitkahaxki[x] side take a few puffs. Then he carries it back to Knifechief, gives it to him, and sits down in his own place.

Knifechief smokes and then passes the pipe to the Skiri at his left, and from him it is passed on down the Skiri side from north to south. Each one smokes and passes it on. By the time it reaches the tarutsius of the Skiri side it is likely to be smoked out. This smoke is a gift of the Kitkahaxki[x] to the Skiri. Except for the two Kitkahaxki[x] leaders, no Kitkahaxki[x] smoke, only the Skiri.

When the pipe has reached the Skiri tarutsius, the Kitkahaxki[x] leader arises, walks around the east side of the fire and receives the pipe back from him. He carries it with him around west of the fire, and stops north of the fire where facing south, he loosens the [782] ashes with a pipe tamper, and twice raises the pipe bowl upward.

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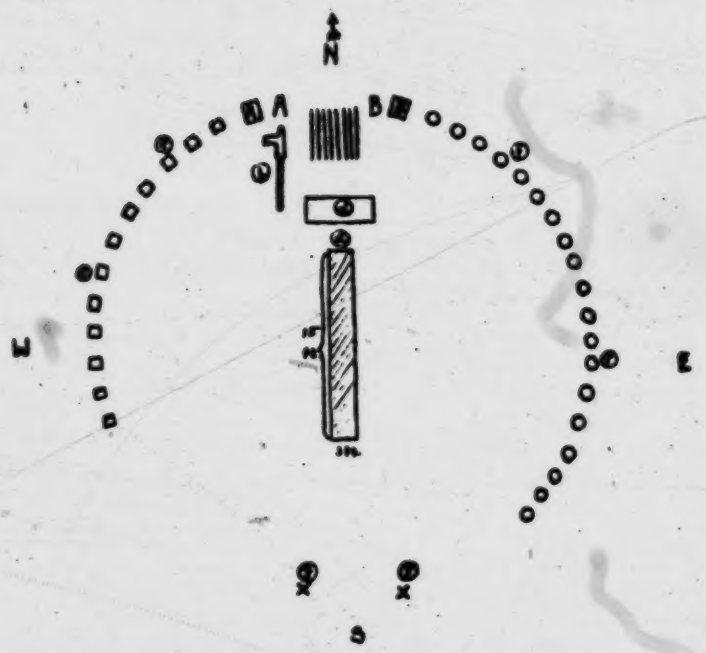

Figure 1. Plan of Game between Kitkahaxki[x] and Skiri

A - Kitkahaxki[x] leader, [A] - Kitkahaxki[x] assistant
B - Skiri leader [B] - Skiri assistant
a - long fire
b - Kitkahaxki[x] pipe in position after smoking
c - tally sticks
d - position of stakes
[e] - Kitkahaxki[x] men (guests)
[f] - Skiri men (hosts)
x x - Tarutaius (fire-tenders)

[782]

an offering to heaven, each time emptying some of the ashes on the ground before the fire; then he loosens the ashes a third time and deposits all that remains on the ground, an offering to the earth. Without further motions or gestures he takes the pipe with him to his place and sits down. He now places the pipe on the ground before him, mouthpiece pointing south, bowl turned to the west (see figure 1). He can put the pipe on the ground because now it is empty. Up to the time he began the smoking he had to carry the pipe and hold it in his arms.

The set used by the Skiri consists of eight dogwood sticks and two white bones; these are not decorated in any special way. The Skiri leader Knifechief now announces: 525 619

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525 6M "All right now, let's go ahead." Knifechief gets up and gives one bone to a Skiri man; the Kitkahaxki[x] leader rises and gives one to a Kitkahaxki[x] man. In this way the two are selected as guessers for their respective sides.

Now all the players begin to sing and yell. The two guessers are on their feet facing each other. The Skiri hides the bone first, the Kitkahaxki[x] must guess first. The one who wins them gives them out to hide to any two players on his side regardless of where they sit. He picks them because they are clever at hiding the bones, at deceiving the guessers, at confusing them by shifting the bone almost invisibly from one hand to another. The guesser watches closely. He notes the gestures with the hands and arms, the body movements; he watches eyes for a hint.

As soon as one guesser has won the two bones he takes them to his side of the fire to two players. His opponent crosses into enemy territory to follow the trail and find them. His side is quiet now, [516 825] while the players of the side hiding the bones are all singing and clapping hands. Some are yelling to frighten the guesser. Others make gestures to confuse him. The hiders imitate some animal in their body movements and the positions of their clenched hands.

[201 533] He wins them back. At once his side begins to yell with their hands over their mouths, he-e-e-e- in a high loud voice. Then they begin to sing. Old hand game songs, songs caricaturing things and people, funny songs, coarse songs.

To follow the trail of the bones when they are won and carried across to the other side is to trail the enemy. The guesser searches for tracks. A player on the hiding side goes to the fire for handfuls [789] of cold ashes from the fire's edge. He sprinkles it like falling snow. He calls aloud. "The snow covers up the tracks now, you cannot see them."

Thus after an enemy raid in late fall when men started after the retreating warparty to regain captured horses the falling snow obliterated the trail. To the Pawnee the little dramatic act has similar power to obliterate the unseen trail of the bones from hand to hand, to blind the guesser. The guesser shields his eyes with his hand and peers through the falling ashes to see the tracks.

In time to the clapping of hands and the rhythm of singing, the [825] hiders and all the players of that side move their arms and bodies back and forth, back and forth. When they hide some imitate crows, some deer, some buffalo, some turkeys.

The Skiri win the first game. Their side carries off the stakes. 525 533 6M Now the Skiri begin to sing Crazy Dog dance songs, songs of reckless bravery, self-abandonment on the warpath. Men careless

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of death sang such songs before they set out for the country of the enemy, sang such songs before they went into battle, before they broke into the enemy camp. Knifechief gets up to dance. He dances the steps of the Crazy Dog Dance. It is his place to dance first, he is a brave man and the leader. Others join him from the Skiri side. They do not dance out in the circle, but standing at their places. Knifechief carries a stick in his hand.

As the dancing ends, all the Skiri yell, he-he-he-he-e-e-e-, hitting their hands on their mouths. Knifechief speaks.

"I can remember when I was in the army and we chased the Cheyenne. We chased them out of their camp. They ran and left their blankets behind. I took the blankets away from them."

Knifechief sits down.

"Well, bet some more."

The Skiri who have won stakes bring back their winnings. The Kitkahaxki[x] have to bet other things against what they have lost. The Kitkahaxki[x] leader bets his blanket, a squaw cloth with one side red and the other black. All the Kitkahaxki[x] bet again. They have come to play the hand game and have a lot of stuff with them to bet. The bets pile up again. The betting is even, man against man, and the pile comes out even.

The guesser who won for the Skiri plays again. The Kitkahaxki[x] choose a new man to try his luck against the victor.

Again the Skiri win and carry off the stakes.

The Skiri sing Crazy Dog Dance songs. Knifechief dances. He calls, "We charged again and chased out the Cheyenne, and they left everything behind, tents and horses, and we carried them away. And a pair of leggings I took away from them."

He is recalling victory in battle and the garnering of the spoils. He is gloating over the victory in the game. The game is a battle; the Skiri have carried off the plunder.

Knifechief sits down.

The bets are laid for a third game. The Kitkahaxki[x] leader says, "I'm going to bet a beef." He puts up a beef against the squaw cloth Knifechief has just won from him. All bet again.

The game begins. Again the Skiri are winning.

All this while Mark has been standing on the Skiri side. They have given him no place to sit and play.

The guesser for the Kitkahaxki[x] in the third game is a friend of his. He calls out to Mark. "Come over here." He asks him to sit on the Kitkahaxki[x] side next to him. Mark walks around through the north outside the circle of players and sits down.

The Kitkahaxki[x] are losing again. The Skiri have won six

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525 points: only two sticks are left in the center. The Kitkahaxki[x] 619 guesser calls out to the leader of his side, "I want him to guess now." He shows them Mark. He says, "You're a good boy; everything you do is lucky. Go ahead."

The Skiri begin to yell. The Kitkahaxki[x] pat Mark on the back and wish him luck.

[789] Mark arises. He goes to the fire and leans forward over it. He touches the ashes and rubs his hands together. He touches fire to his eyes to warm them and make him see clearly. He watches the guessers. He chooses quickly. He finds the bones.

Now the Skiri are trying to confuse him. They yell. They want him to put up the shawl he has with him. He tells them he doesn't have to now. He goes on guessing against the Skiri man who has won two games. The Kitkahaxki[x] players begin to come to life. They win the game.

[533] Now the Kitkahaxki[x] sing the Crazy Dog Dance songs. The Skiri are silent. The Kitkahaxki[x] leader gets up to dance. He tells how he went on a warpath and captured many horses. This time the Kitkahaxki[x] have carried off the spoils.

There is a fourth game. The bets are laid again. The Skiri choose a new guesser. Mark is against him now and wins again.

The games are even. The Kitkahaxki[x] have won back their losings. They decide to stop now. It is late. The Kitkahaxki[x] go home.

Later the Skiri set upon Mark because he played with the Kitkahaxki[x] and won for them. For a long time he couldn't go [578] near the Skiri camp. They would get hold of him and scold him angrily. Mark says he joined the Kitkahaxki[x] side because the man who asked him was a friend of his, and because the Skiri did not give him a place and ask him to join in.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE OLD GAME

525 Competitions like the above between the bands of the Pawnee 533 were played in this way in the old days. Women never played. The games were always outdoors. The songs sung were old type hand game songs. They were coarse but not about women. One ran:

"They're bathing in the water now...
They're bathing in the water now..."

All would laugh because of the reference to washing, bringing up a picture of one scrubbing himself all over and around the loins.

525 Those who hid, many of them, imitated animals. Some of these 825 imitations:
536

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Crow: Each hand clasped with index finger erect. The arms are bent so that the hands are held out about shoulder high like wings. The player calls ka-ka-ka like the crow while he motions with his hands back and forth like flapping wings. 525 825 536

Turkey: Right hand clasped, index finger extended, is brought to forehead to imitate the beak; left hand with index finger out is placed behind like tail. The player calls tut-tut-tut like a turkey.

Deer: The hands clasped palm side down, held bent at wrists about waist high, imitating the forefeet; the index fingers are curled down; the arms are moved alternately, gracefully and slowly, forward and back. No sound.

Buffalo calf: Two hands tight shut in fists with thumbs erect: the bottoms of the fists are set to the sides of the head above the ears, the head bent forward, the thumbs moved like little horns, slight motions. The calf makes no noise unless caught, then "br-r-r-rrr."

Buffalo: The two hands clenched at the sides of the head as for calf, but the index fingers erect for larger horns: the head is moved slowly around to one side and another as the animal peers this way and that.

These animal imitations are by some wholly in fun. But those who use a certain imitation usually retain it throughout the play of hand games, and are known as such and such an animal player. And there are some among the players who have the right to characterizations because of their knowledge and power. In the hand game above described, one man who imitated the deer was a deer performer in the Doctor Dance.

The structure of the old hand game comes out clearly in the above narration. The play of the game has been detailed heretofore. Points of significance: 525

The games were always played outdoors. [562]
Women never participated.
The long fire outdoors with each side in a semi-circle.
The leaders as tallyers at the head end.
The tally sticks in one heap between them.
The betting.
The selection of hiders in any orders.
The attempts to trick and deceive.
The singing of old hand game songs for the play accompanied only by handclapping, without instruments. [533]
The Crazy Dog Dance between the games, danced by the winning side, the winning leader counting a coup. [535]
The animal imitations. [536]

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525 The host side starting the play, the guest side initiating the guessing.

The visitors bringing a pipe smoked only by the hosts.

As to the alignment of the sides:

525 There is no such thing in these games as hereditary or traditional
621 sides.[1] The Kitkahaxki[x] came from the west and occupied the west
619 half of the circle, the head end being at the north. Original geo-
823 graphical band arrangements in Oklahoma may be indicated as follows:

N

Skiri

W Tcawi E

Kitkahaxki[x]

Pitahawirat[s]

S

These geographical positions would determine the arrangement of the hand game play. A division into east and west sides meant the head end was the north; a division into north and south sides meant the head end was the west. Pitahawirat[s] against Kitkahaxki[x] would put the Kitkahaxki[x] on the north, the Pitahawirat[s] on the south, with the leaders and tally sticks at the west. The other bands would have divisions into east and west sides with the leaders and sticks at the north.

In Nebraska the arrangement also follows geographical locations, but these were different:

N

W Skiri Kitkahaxki[x] Tcawi Pitahawirat[s] E

S

In Nebraska all games would have an east-west division of sides with the head end at the north. A game played in Nebraska between the same two bands as above, the Kitkahaxki[x] visiting the Skiri would put the Skiri on the west, the Kitkahaxki[x] on the east (the exact opposite of what was played in Oklahoma) with the tally sticks and leaders at the north.

Such were the arrangements and characteristics of games played by one Pawnee band against another.

THE INTER-TRIBAL HAND GAME

525 In earlier days, before the Pawnee were removed to Oklahoma,
648 and for some time thereafter, the hand game was a contest, not only
574 between the bands ofthe Pawnee, but a contest played by any

[1] Murie, Societies, p. 636.

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Pawnee group against another tribe with whom they were friends traditionally, or with whom they had recently established friendly relations. Among those with whom the hand game was played by the Skiri Pawnee in relatively recent times, one informant remembers participating in games with the Osage, Ponca and Omaha, Oto, Kiowa, and Arapaho. Friendly gaming relations are remembered with the Sac and Fox, but with them the moccasin game was played, not the hand game. The following narrative of a game between the Skiri Pawnee and the Kiowa, played in Oklahoma many years ago, probably before 1880, will make the procedure clear:

The story is told by Mark Evarts.

One time a large party of Skiri Pawnee were on a buffalo hunt. They were led by Bowchief. While they were out hunting, they came near to the place where the Kiowa were encamped, and went over to visit them. It was not an anticipated visit, so that the traditional forms of visiting were not involved.[1] The chief of the Kiowa was Bigbow.[2] Bowchief of the Skiri Pawnee and Bigbow of the Kiowa were friends.[3]

At the Kiowa encampment, the Skiri Pawnee danced their Crazy Dog Dance, led by Bowchief on horseback. He was the only mounted Skiri in the dance.[4] After the performance, the Kiowa gave the Pawnee buffalo meat and buffalo hides.[5] Then the Pawnee left with these gifts and came home.

Two days later, in the afternoon, the Pawnee saw a party of Kiowa coming to visit them. They were received in friendly fashion, and they danced the Kiowa Crazy Dog Dance for the Pawnee. This time Bigbow led the dance, mounted. He was the only Kiowa on horseback. Bigbow, in the dance, called aloud his exploits on old warpaths. After the dance the Pawnee gave the Kiowa calico and corn.[5] Then the Kiowa went home. The Pawnee hunters who had visited the Kiowa were all men. The Kiowa who returned the visit were mostly men; a few had wives with them.

[1] The traditional forms would have required sending a gift of tobacco in advance, and other formalities.

[2] otakáyot in Evarts' rendition of his Kiowa name.

[3] Inter-tribal friendship was a definite formalized relationship in former times. It was of paramount importance, as through interlocking friendships tribes traditionally hostile to each other were drawn into peaceful relations.

[4] It is said that in the old form of the Crazy Dog Dance, a man mounted indicated thereby that he had captured horses on a warpath.

[5] This giving away after the dancing is similar to the old forms of intertribal visiting of friends, at which lavish giving away was done. In the above case the formal arrangements preceding the visits seem to have been omitted because it was a chance meeting.

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525 574 648 While the Kiowa were visiting the Pawnee, some Skiri youths thought of visiting the Kiowa to play a hand game against them. They decided to go over to challenge the Kiowa the day after the Kiowa went home. Mark was with them and became exited about the anticipated hand game. His father was sick, but he paid very little attention because his head was full of the hand game and he wanted to go.

The Kiowa were then camping about two miles from the Pawnee. Late in the afternoon, the day after the Kiowa had gone, Mark saw men gathering at the edge of camp. They were ready to go; they had bundles of things with them to bet. When Mark stepped out of the lodge, these youths motioned to him to come on. So he [593] forgot all about how sick his father was inside, and went. He persuaded himself that his father wasn't very sick anyhow.

The whole party went on foot, carrying their stakes. There were twenty-five or thirty in the group. They took no horses to ride because all who were going wanted to play, which would leave no one to take care of the horses. Some mean fellows among the Kiowa might steal some. And if they had horses with them they might be tempted to wager them and lose the horses.[1]

After dark they reached the Kiowa camp. They were directed to the chief's tent. Knifechief, leading the Skiri party, carried a pipe, already filled with tobacco. Knifechief and a few others went into the chief's tipi. From outside Mark heard a Kiowa in the tipi call, "hɔkahi"—"all right, that's good."

This was in December. It was very cold, and outside the men waiting wanted to get into tents to warm up. David Gillingham, Mark's chum, went with Mark into one tent. A Kiowa man sitting at the west called out a welcome, hɔkahi. From the south side, where she had been sitting, his wife rose and spread a blanket for the two visitors on the north side of the tipi close up to the west [276] where the Kiowa was sitting. She put two pillows on it. David [788] and Mark sat down there. The Kiowa filled a black pipe and gave it to David to smoke. Mark nudged David and whispered to him that he should not make any gestures with the pipe. Both knew that the Kiowa had special ways and motions in using their pipes; Mark was afraid David would try them and make a mistake. He knew David was a great show-off. The Kiowa pipe-smoking was very complicated. David nudged Mark back and told him to keep quiet. David wanted to show off, so he made some motions with the pipe, imitating Kiowa motions he had seen somewhere.

[481] [726]

[1] Incidentally, the Pawnee warparty always travelled on foot, with the object of returning riding captured horses.

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The Kiowa watched him with astonishment. Then David handed the pipe to Mark, who took it and smoked it quietly and without ceremony. When it was handed back to the Kiowa he made several gestures with it before he put it down. Then his wife picked up a bowl of pounded meat which was on the south side, brought it over and placed it before them. Mark tried to make David talk to their Kiowa host in sign language to keep David's hands busy. Meanwhile Mark ate as fast as he could. Then the woman took a kettle, put dried meat and fat in it, and hung it over the fire suspended from a horizontal bar across two forked uprights. 525 648 574

When the meat was cooked the boys were given meat and fat to eat, and soup to drink. David told Mark not to eat so fast. While they were eating and drinking, outside a Kiowa was heard shouting. When he heard the announcement, their Kiowa host grunted. He

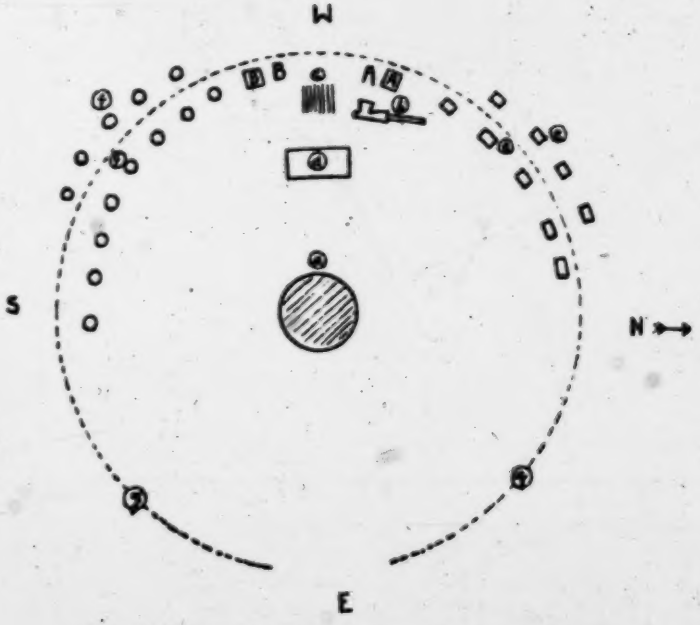

Figure 2. Plan of Game between Skiri and Kiowa

A - Skiri leader and assistant
B - Kiowa leader and assistant
a - round fire
b - Skiri pipe in position after smoking
c - tally sticks
d - position of stakes
e - Skiri men (guests)
f - Kiowa men (hosts)
g - outlines of tipi

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525 574 648 told the boys in sign language that the man outside, the crier, had announced that the Pawnee were here and had come on the warpath for the hand game; that they had come bringing a pipe. The crier had said too that as it was getting late, the people had better come at once, women and all, for the hand game. It was to be played inside the big tent of the Kiowa chief.

[431] When they had eaten enough, the Kiowa told the boys to take with them the meat that was left. By signs he said that if they felt hungry later, they would have it to eat. He gave them a pointed stick, and showed them how to stick it into the meat and so carry [492] it. He said, "I'm in a hurry now, I want to get a place there to sit." All three went over to the chief's tipi. The tent was big, but the crowd was so large that there was not room enough inside for all, so the bottom of the tent cover was rolled up all around, and those who couldn't get in settled themselves around outside. Many had to sit outside this way in the cold. If such a large crowd had been anticipated, the hand game would have been played in the open around a huge fire, but it was too late to gather enough wood to build such a big fire.

The Pawnee were sitting around the north side of the tipi, inside and out, Knifechief, as the leader, sitting at the west. The Kiowa sat around the south side, with the Kiowa chief at the west next to Knifechief. In the middle was a large round fire. The Skiri [823] Pawnee were on the north because the tribe was camped north of the Kiowa and had come south to play.

The game began at once. There was no pipe smoking. The Kiowa chief had received the pipe when Knifechief had entered his tent upon arriving.

Between the leaders at the west are the tally sticks. Alongside them lies the Pawnee pipe, now empty, pointing to the north.

The betting begins, of vests, shirts, blankets, anything of value. Each man bets against one of the other side; the two things are tied together; the bundles are heaped at the west before the leaders. In the excitement of the game, the cold is forgotten, even by those who must squat outside. The first guessers are chosen and play begins.

When they hide the bones, the Kiowa sing old hand game songs, accompanied by the beating of one hand drum. When the Pawnee have the bones, they sing their old hand game songs. They clap their hands; they do not beat a drum.

The Pawnee won the first game and took the stakes. Then they sang one Crazy Dog Dance song. Two Pawnee danced. One told of a war exploit, "Once when I was in the army,[1] we charged the

[1] Referring to an episode while a Pawnee scout with the U. S. army.

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Cheyenne camp early in the morning, and they fled. When I got into the Cheyenne camp I took blankets and other things away from them." The Pawnee sing and dance only one song, because it is late and cold, and the Pawnee have a long way to go to return home after the game. They want to hurry, and play quickly. Should the Kiowa win a game, they would dance their Crazy Dog Dance to the songs of their society and their leader would rise to recite an exploit, holding the Pawnee pipe. But the Pawnee when they dance, do not carry the pipe they have brought.[1] On this occasion, the Kiowa did not win, and had no chance to dance carrying the pipe.

Wagers were made for a second game, the Kiowa betting against their losings. Again the Pawnee won. Again they sang a Crazy Dog Dance song, and another Pawnee recited a war exploit.

In the third game Knifechief rose and sprinkled ashes to hide the tracks, and the Kiowa guesser searched for the trail.

The Pawnee won three straight games, and that was all they played. There was no fighting over the bones in these games: that was only the way that small boys played.

Knifechief rose. He said, "Now my brother, I beat you. That's all. We're going home." All the Skiri took up their winnings and started for home.

While the game had been going on, Mark and David had found time to eat up the meat they had received so that no one could ask for some. They managed to finish it by the time the game was over.

On the way home, one of the Skiri who was a friend of Mark's gave him a pair of leggings he had just won. Mark says that because of the good fortune of the Pawnee that night he believed the Pawnee would always have good luck in hand games, but subsequently he found out he had been mistaken. In later games they often lost.

[1] Carrying the pipe while counting coup was correct only if the reciter had carried a pipe at the time of the exploit. This meant essentially that he had been the leader of a war party. If the exploit had occurred when no pipe was carried, he could count coup, but without holding the pipe. In the above narrative the special significance of the distinction drawn between the right of the Kiowa leader to carry the pipe, and the Pawnee lack of that right, is that it represents dramatically the fact that for generations past, as a result of their treaties, which the Pawnee held sacred, few if any war parties had been sent out ceremonially by the Pawnee. War exploits during the Nineteenth Century were limited essentially to defensive tactics, or to fighting as members of the United States army (see Chapter I).

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525 648 574 823 The essentials of this game follow those of the inter-band Pawnee hand games. Interesting is the fact of the arrangements on sides according to geographical locations. In playing Osage, Arapaho, Ponca and Omaha, as well as Kiowa, the games were usually held in tipis, though they could be held outdoors if the crowd was large. They were played around a round fire. Instruments were not used by the Pawnee for game-singing, but tribes opposing them followed their own custom. When the Skiri played the Osage, the Skiri were on the south, the Osage on the north; when the Skiri played the Arapaho, the Skiri were on the north, the Arapaho on the south; when the Skiri played the Ponca, the Skiri were on the north, the Ponca on the south. The Osage in the game in question came from the north to the Skiri. The Skiri went to the Arapaho going north – the Skiri camp was south of the Arapaho camp, hence my informant feels the alignment was in error, and that there must have been a special reason for it. Once the Skiri, on their way north to Arkansas City, met the Ponca for a hand game. They had stopped to camp south of Ponca City. The Ponca were all around them, but the particular party which came to play gathered to the southwest of the Pawnee camp, and came from that direction; hence they were placed on the south side.

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VII.

THE GHOST DANCE HAND GAME

The old gambling hand game of the Pawnee, along with other games, dances and social affairs, had gone the way of the rest of Pawnee aboriginal culture by 1892. Occasionally games were played, but the old life which began with early spring and included one round of work and play that ended with the winter, was no more. The Ghost Dance, with its doctrine of a return of the old Indian life, and its mandate to stimulate that return by actively reviving whatever could be recalled, amounted to a partial renaissance of Pawnee culture. We can judge what was lacking most in Pawnee life before the Ghost Dance by considering some of the revivals. Memories of the societies and brotherhoods with their dances and songs were recaptured in reconstructions of the old paraphernalia, and the singing again of the old songs. But games were preeminent, as they were also among the Arapaho. The joy of play had gone from Pawnee life before this. All was somber and hopeless, full of death, disease and constant frustration. Of these game revivals the most notable was the hand game. [171]

The game was revived first as a game. This is apparently the significance of the constant iteration by informants that Tom Morgan's game was not a ceremonial one originally, was the first of them all, and did not come in response to a vision. The Arapaho suggestion of a ceremonialized game combining Ghost Dance ideas of the deceased playing in the beyond, with the game play, reached the Pawnee.

Once the games were begun, whether it was by Morgan or by Carrion, by direct inspiration or through borrowing from the Arapaho, the idea of learning Ghost Dance hand games in visions spread like wildfire and the games sprang up like mushrooms. This radical development by individuals only came after the movement to dethrone Frank White as the sole prophet of the Pawnee Ghost Dance. As late as 1930 I was able to list twenty-two individual game developments of the Pawnee. No doubt, if all the facts were known, there were many more. For a game to persist after it was once created, the owner had to be well thought of by his people, so that someone would "put it up": and the public had to believe

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668 525 787 in the supernatural sanction of the game. Many games were probably demonstrated briefly and then forgotten.

The Pawnee developed an interesting check upon the validity of these Ghost Dance hand game revelations. They knew that any one could make up the game with sticks, altar arrangements, smoke offerings, and special complexities. For this reason the people were especially interested in watching the play of a game the *second* time it was demonstrated by the owner. Their contention was that if the game was just made up the owner would not be able to repeat his own arrangements accurately, while if the vision was a true one he would always remember his ways, could in fact never forget them.

The game visions were supposed to give full directions to the visionary as to the details of the game. This included the essentials of the ritual aspects, as offerings, and ceremonial arrangements, the character of the hand game set, the way to play the game. Each composite of these things constituted a set of teachings similar to the ritual lore of a bundle owner in former times, and the paraphernalia used in demonstrating the game constituted a bundle.

The Ghost Dance hand game was a ceremony, not a gambling game, and as such the elements of gambling of the earlier game were eliminated. But the concept of luck involved in the play of the game was carried along with a changed meaning: it may have been in fact the use of luck as an omen which stimulated the rapid growth and widespread playing of these games.

525 777 Gambling for the Pawnee, as doubtless for most primitive peoples, is associated with feeling of the existence of luck as a definite quality of the world. To win in a gambling game is to win not only the stakes: to win is to get a vote of confidence, a promise that the gods are on your side. The immediate benefit of the victory is of course the spoils. But beyond these immediate stakes there are greater stakes which have been won. You cannot know, you cannot guess what ultimate benefits of fortune will accrue. But you have assurance that *luck* is on your side. You must await the outcome of events and see what happens. Something good, something lucky and fortunate, is bound to happen to you. When 668 it does, that is because you won when you gambled. The need for 525 luck is everpresent because of the precariousness of life. This need 777 was acutely felt in Ghost Dance times. It was because luck was 787 against the Indian that the white man was conquering. The Ghost Dance doctrine was a promise that fortune was to be on the other side. Now in addition one needed luck to be with the winning side. To be assured of the ultimate change of the Ghost Dance one needed

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the luck of visions; and to be assured that one would be saved when the great destruction came, one had to be in touch with the controlling influences of the spirit world, which could be had only through visions.

In the early games, as we saw, the men who played imitated various birds and animals as they played. The belief is that birds and animals play hand games too, even as men. In the Ghost Dance two birds were preeminently the choice of the dancers, the eagle and the crow, because of the known characteristic traits of these birds—their wide, far-flung flights, on which they saw the world below them and everything that went on in it. When you were influenced to fall into a trance because of either of these birds, or when in your trance either of these birds was your guide and helper to find lost relatives and lost ways of life, you became associated with that bird. When in the hand game you played as a "crow" or an "eagle", you played to find out which was luckier, which held promise of the greater good fortune. In the early Ghost Dance hand game days it is said by all that the losers cried desolately and the winners were jubilant. As there never were material stakes for a Ghost Dance hand game, clearly it was nothing won. Bad luck or good luck had been discovered as one's portion. To lose was an ill omen.

An incident by Mark Evarts illustrates the foregoing:

Once at a Ghost Dance game played by Mrs. Washington, Mark held the counter in his left hand. The guesser indicated that hand as his choice, when, as quickly as it was guessed, it seemed to pass to his right hand, and there it was. This, according to Mark, was a sign of good fortune. A while later Mark was given Ridingin's daughter to marry. Goodeagle, the girl's grandfather, told the people at the time Mark was married to the girl, that he had had Mark in mind for a long time. Mark feels that this was what his hand game luck forbode. He considers this connection of the events reinforced by an experience which had occurred to him some time before he played in this hand game of Mrs. Washington's. One time when he was near a creek with a large clump of cottonwoods, an eagle came circling, looked at Mark and went off again. "Now Goodeagle and Mrs. Goodeagle represent two eagles," says Mark. "and that may have been the time they thought about me and considered me." Thus the experience with the eagle is reinterpreted in the light of hand game luck and the good fortune which followed it.

An interesting aspect of the above experience is that Mark considered the fact that the counter changed hands miraculous. Not from Mark did I ever learn that in the old game changing the

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668 525 777 [577] counter from hand to hand in this way was a regular form of deception and part of the game. Other informants told me about this old method of play after I had recorded Mark's experience, and only then did I become aware that in terms of Ghost Dance hand game ethics Mark had cheated, unconsciously falling into the habits of play he had been used to in his boyhood.

The concept of luck associated with hand game play was broadened conceptually in the Ghost Dance. Winning was a sign of greater faith, and since the coming change could be attained through faith alone, losing was a bitter dose indeed. It marked one as a disbeliever, a sinner, an unfortunate who could not be saved.

121 526 668 In the chapters which follow I have considered the Ghost Dance hand games in two ways. In the first discussion the material facts of the games have been used to define the generic aspects of game rituals and ceremonies, and to bring out the significance of the various parts in order to consider in a later discussion the contrast with the old game and the meaning of the changes. In other chapters the details of the individual games are presented so far as known, in a form which makes them at once comparable with the analysis which precedes. In this way repetitions have been reduced to a minimum.

The order in which the games are presented, especially those of the Skiri, is an attempt at something of a chronology.

128 525 669 The exact order is of course impossible to determine at this date. Many were developed well-nigh simultaneously. If the owners of old games are interviewed each is likely to contend for the priority of his or her own game. But certain games are known to be very old, certain others to be very recent. In addition special traits of the individual games place them in one or another of relative periods of time, before which they could not have used certain forms, and after which they must have. In short, on the basis of internal evidence as well as tradition a fairly sure chronology of the games *as groups* had been obtained. The question of priority within the groups is problematical.

There are first of all the games of the South Bands. Of these I have heard of only five: Joseph Carrion's, Tom Morgan's, White Elk's, Charley Brown's (this and White Elk's are collaborative), and Annie Eustace's. Tom Morgan's game as we saw was probably a nonceremonial one, which he altered to suit the new fashion, while Carrion's was the game he learned among the Arapaho. These two are then definitely older than the White Elk-Brown game, and that of Annie Eustace, for both of the latter were developed *as* Ghost Dance hand games.

1 [not processed. -Analyst]

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Of the seventeen Skiri games known to me at least by name, nine fall into an early period. These are the games belonging to Mrs. Washington, Mrs. Goodeagle, Goodeagle, George Beaver, Mark Rudder, John Moses (old form), Skidi Jake, Boychief's mother, and Pierson. Of these I know nothing of the proper place for Beaver's, Skiri Jake's and Goodeagle's games. Mrs. Goodeagle gave the order of the other six as: her own, Mrs. Washington, Rudder, Moses, Boychief's mother and Pierson. Her statement is probably correct as regards the subsequence of Rudder,[1] Moses and Boychief's mother, but as regards the priority of Mrs. Goodeagle's game over that of Mrs. Washington, there can be much question, in view of the part Mrs. Washington played in the Ghost Dance itself, and the general feeling among the Pawnee that there was considerable jealousy between the two women.

Subsequent to this early period, in a general middle period, after Pierson's game, come games of Emmet Pierson and Lonechief (collaborative), Barclay White (from Mrs. Washington), Boychief (from his mother), and Tom Yellowhorse. The Pierson-Lonechief games are definitely placed as just after the earliest developments. White's and Boychief's games follow Pierson's in time, inasmuch as these games were inherited, and their former owners were alive and or active at the time when Emmet Pierson derived his game; while that of Yellowhorse, perhaps the most played game today among the Pawnee, is said to have followed after Pierson's.

Finally we can be reasonably certain that four other games fall in a late to recent period: a second one of Pierson's, a new or changed game of John Moses, a game of Charley Allen's and one of Irene Goodeagle (made for her by her grandmother). The last was made up in the last few years. The Moses and Allen games followed their conversion to the Baptist Church of recent years, and Pierson's second game just preceded that time; it was a simplification of his older game.

While the exact order of these games is not of paramount importance, some conception of their relative order is, because there were gradual changes introduced in the Ghost-Dance hand games throughout the period of their creation, and these changes tell an interesting story.

[1] Tom Yellowhorse considers Mark Rudder's game earliest of the Skiri Ghost Dance hand games.

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[For information on Pawnee relations with neighboring tribes and early American settlers, see category 116, pp. 1-52--Analyst.]

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[For information on the origin, development and spread of the Ghost Dance ceremony to the various tribes of Western United States, see category 116, pp. 53-59. --Analyst]

[For information on the history of the Pawnee nation, see category 116, pp. 1-52. --Analyst]